

# Diodorus Siculus on the Late Roman Republic

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## ABSTRACT

**Overview:** This thesis is a literary analysis of the fragments of Bks. 33-40 of Diodorus' historical work, the *Bibliothēke*, and especially of those that cover the history of late Republican Rome. The research is mainly centred upon various problems of *Quellenforschung*.

**Contents:** The first two chapters provide some preliminary assessments of the general problems posed by this research. Chapter I: 'The Transmission of the Material' examines the nature and quality of the primary material, the extant fragments of Diodorus' Bks. 33-40. In particular it casts light on the ways in which the two major Byzantine contributors to the preservation of our Diodoran material, Photius and the *Excerpts* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, epitomised or excerpted portions of those books. Chapter II: 'Posidonian *Quellenkritik*' introduces the question that has tended to dominate Diodoran studies, that is, of attempts to detect what source(s) Diodorus used for a particular section of his historical narrative. It focuses specifically on the philosopher-historian Posidonius, the literary figure whom Diodorus is believed to have chiefly used for the period concerned, and it illuminates the general difficulties in identifying the direct influences of Posidonius in such unattributed secondary material as that provided by Diodorus.

The central part of the thesis consists of three chapters, each dealing with Diodorus' treatment of an aspect of Roman history from the middle of the second century BC down to the beginning of the Civil Wars in the mid-80s. All three chapters examine among other things the extent to which Posidonius' influences and those of the ultimate Roman sources are detectable in the Diodoran passages on various philological, philosophical and political grounds. Yet the examination of the text also highlights the difficulty of distinguishing possible traces of a particular source in the *Bibliothēke* from Diodorus' own stylistic/ philosophical preferences, as well as from hidden influences of the intellectual milieu common to many writers of the time. Chapter III: 'Rome', traces the series of internal crises in the city of Rome from the Gracchan period to the early 80s, focusing on the political perspective from which those events are interpreted. Chapter IV: 'Italy and Provinces', looks at the way in which Diodorus presents affairs in Italy and provinces during the same period, with special reference to the aetiology and narrative structure of the account of the Social War in Bk. 37. Chapter V: 'Sicily', covers the two Sicilian Slave Wars, the major incidents that took place on Diodorus' native island during the second half of the 2nd century BC. The topics range from the attitude of Posidonius/ Diodorus towards slavery to some peculiarities of the narrative of the wars proper.

The last chapter, Chapter VI: 'Postposidoniana', comprises two major sections. The first deals with the much-debated problem of the terminal date of Posidonius' *Histories*. On the basis of existing evidence it argues that his main narrative did not carry on much beyond the year 87, and that Diodorus had to use (an)other source(s) for the rest of his work. The second part examines the character of the 'post-Posidonian narrative' and what the possibilities are, chronologically and conceptually, for determining the source(s) that Diodorus used for this part of his *Bibliothēke*.

## **DECLARATION**

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself under supervision at Edinburgh and that all the work carried out herein is my own. I also certify that no part of the thesis has previously been submitted for the award of a degree to any University.

**Toshibumi Matsubara**

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## INTRODUCTION

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At one time, Diodorus Siculus was notoriously seen as a mechanical and uncritical excerptor of his sources, and his universal history in forty books, the *Bibliothèque*, as a compilation of various historical works composed by his superior predecessors. It is all too well-known that this scholarly attitude, prevalent since the height of the nineteenth-century *Quellenkritik*, has long subjected the historian to a shower of contempt and derision; and at the same time, it has given scholars a licence to reclaim whatever they believed were the traces of earlier, lost literature from various passages of the *Bibliothèque*.<sup>1</sup> Yet this once-dominant view is increasingly becoming a bygone trend. Largely as a reaction to the often excessive *Quellenforschung* into Diodorus, recent decades have seen a growing realisation of the problems such an oversimplification of the nature of Diodorus' work - or of any historical work for that matter - would entail, and more and more studies have come to recognise that things are perhaps not as simple as were once believed.<sup>2</sup> In the preface to a recent study of Diodorus, the author aptly sums up the two contrasting attitudes in Diodoran scholarship, past and present, as follows: a willingness or an unwillingness among scholars to accept that the historian offers something original in his work.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See the literature reviews in Laqueur (1958), pp. 257-259; Pavan (1961), pp. 19-22; Hornblower (1981), pp. 19-22; Spoerri (1991), pp. 310-313 (with bibliography in p. 310 n. 4 and p. 313 n. 10).

<sup>2</sup> Attempts to re-assess Diodorus as a historian in his own right and to place him in a more favourable light began as early as the thirties: Oldfather (1933), pp. xvii and xxf.; Laqueur (1958); Palm (1955); Pavan (1961); Reid (1971); *Kleine Pauly*, s. v. 'D. aus Agyrion'; more recently, Strogetsky (1982); Pavan (1987); Sacks (1990); *id.* (1994); Ambaglio (1995); this new trend has been reviewed by Spoerri (1991), pp. 313-316 (and see n. 14-19 for bibliography). Yet the earlier view that Diodorus more or less 'copied out' a single source for a given part of his historical narrative has still occasionally been voiced: e. g., Bizièrre (1974), pp. 369-374.

<sup>3</sup> Ambaglio (1995), p. 9: 'la disponibilità o indisponibilità degli studiosi ad ammettere che Diodoro offra nella sua *Biblioteca* qualcosa di originale.' On the other hand, for those scholars who only wish to see an exact image of a lost historical work in the *Bibliothèque*, the undeniable fact that Diodorus had certain degree of originality would no doubt be disturbing. The cruel verdict on him by Hornblower (1981), p. 27, seems to reflect such frustration on the part of a *Quellenforscher*. 'Thus Diodorus ... succeeded neither as an original historian nor as a conscientious compiler.'



Against the general background of these two scholarly trends, the present thesis specifically examines the fragments of the last seven books of the *Bibliothēke* (Bks. 33-40). There are two main reasons for this choice of material. The first is the need to re-examine the past *Quellenkritik* of these books, where the academic scene has always been dominated by a single literary figure, Posidonius of Apamea. Although this great philosopher-historian has almost unanimously been recognised as the principal source for a large part of the narrative in the Diodoran books concerned, the question of the extent to which one could use these books to reconstruct his lost historical work has always remained controversial. Hence my research has on the whole leaned towards *Quellenforschung* of the traditional kind, and the resultant work is as much about Posidonius as about Diodorus. Yet at the same time, I have explored the other side of the 'Diodoran question', that is, the extent to which the historian faithfully followed his particular source or modified it for his own literary ends. This approach becomes all the more necessary from Bks. 33 onwards because - and this is the second reason for the choice of the material - most of the incidents recounted in these books fall within the living memory of Diodorus' contemporaries, and many of them within his own lifetime. However naïve and unoriginal the historian may have been, it is no easier to imagine that he remained content with merely copying other people's writings, and was indifferent to (or personally uninformed about) any contemporary events - events that happened to have taken place during one of the most exciting yet most turbulent periods in ancient Mediterranean history.

Diodorus' occasional references to contemporary affairs, and especially those to Julius Caesar, clearly indicate that he was indeed affected by the world, both real and ideological, that surrounded him. The question is how far the factual and intellectual ambience of his time left its marks on a narrative largely dependent (one might say) on an earlier work such as that of Posidonius. In other words, to what extent did Diodorus remodel his source so as to reflect his own preoccupations? At one end of the spectrum, a historian can announce his means and ends of writing history as explicitly and eloquently as Polybius did. So did Diodorus, too, above all in his proem to Bk. 1 and at various points in his narrative. And when we turn to Bks. 33-40, as I will show, we occasionally find there too such explicit pronouncements

undoubtedly originating from the same philosophical principles as those that permeate the *Bibliothèque* as a whole. At the same time, I will point out where Diodorus is likely to have 'smoothed-out' his source stylistically and sometimes conceptually to reconcile it with the overall programme of his enterprise, and also where he failed to do so, leaving conflicting ideas behind. At the other end of the spectrum, a historian's own views inevitably intrude simply through the process of making a choice for inclusion in his own narrative from among all the information and interpretations at his disposal - a process of writing history which intrinsically makes it impossible to produce a pure work of compilation without the historian's own biases slipping in.<sup>4</sup> Admittedly, the fragmentary nature of both Posidonian and Diodoran material may seem *a priori* to exclude the possibility of establishing what Diodorus chose to take or discard from his source. Yet even in this case, I hope, a comparison between literary characteristics of the Posidonian narrative and a Diodoran passage can on some occasions support the likelihood that Diodorus accentuated certain aspects of his Posidonian items while playing down others.

The first two chapters of the thesis provide some preliminary surveys of the general problems that arise from this research. Chapter I (*The Transmission of the Fragments*) examines the nature and quality of the primary material, the extant fragments of Bks. 33-40 of the *Bibliothèque*. In particular it casts light on the different characters of the two groups of the Diodoran fragments, preserved respectively by the patriarch Photius and the *Excerpts* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, and on the different principles in which these two major Byzantine contributors to the

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<sup>4</sup> The formulation 'a historian's choice of material' really has two possible references. One is what source(s) he chooses to use for a given part of his historical narrative. On this score, even the most severe critics of Diodorus would acknowledge that many of the sources he is known to have used were the works of first-class historians of antiquity - including Agatharchides, Hieronymus, Polybius and Posidonius (the historian of the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia* was probably transmitted via Ephorus) - a fact which shows that Diodorus was at any rate an excellent judge of the material available to him: see Laqueur (1958), p. 257 n. 2; cf. Schwartz, *RE*, col. 669; Rawson (1985), p. 226; Spoerri (1991), p. 313 n. 10; though Drews (1962), p. 384, cynically suggests that Diodorus' choice of these historians was probably more dictated by 'their current popularity'. The other possible reference is what items a historian chooses from a given source for his own use. Since the present research largely involves a single literary authority, Posidonius, for much of the narrative concerned, it is this second aspect of selection process that matters to us most.



preservation of our material epitomised or excerpted portions of those books. Chapter II (*Posidonian Quellenkritik*) presents an overall review of the various philological and philosophical criteria which past scholarship has applied for identifying possible influences of Posidonius on passages of the *Bibliothēke*, especially in Bk. 5 and Bks. 33-37/8. At the same time, the examination of the 'Posidonian' evidence will illuminate the various difficulties in reconstructing what exactly Posidonius wrote from such derivative yet often freely differing material as that provided by Diodorus, Athenaeus and Strabo; it will also draw attention to the general difficulty in distinguishing strictly 'Posidonian' thought from that of Diodorus, as well as from hidden influences of the common intellectual milieu that the two near-contemporaries may well have shared.

The central part of the thesis consists of three chapters, each dealing with Diodorus' treatment of an aspect of Roman history in Bks. 33-37/8, that is, from the middle of the second century BC down to the beginning of the Civil Wars in the mid-80s. The division of the chapters is based on geography - Rome, Italy, provinces and Sicily. Chapter III (*Rome*), traces the series of internal crises in the imperial city from the Gracchan period to the early 80s, focusing on the political perspective from which those events are interpreted. Chapter IV (*Italy and Provinces*) looks at the way in which Diodorus presents affairs in Italy and provinces during the same period, with special reference to the aetiology and narrative structure of the account of the Social War in Bk. 37. Chapter V (*Sicily*) covers the two Sicilian Slave Wars, the major incidents that took place on Diodorus' native island during the second half of the second century BC. It will illustrate various historical and historiographical problems posed by Diodorus' notoriously controversial narrative of the two wars, and will offer some answers to them when possible. All three chapters will examine, among other things, the extent to which Posidonius' influences and those of the ultimate Roman sources are detectable in the Diodoran passages on various philological, philosophical and political grounds.

Needless to say, affairs in these places were more often than not closely related to each other in a broader chain of cause and effect (as the author of the narrative was already well aware), and in some cases a chronological, or even

thematic, treatment of topics might well have been more preferable. Yet my geographical division of chapters can be justified on two grounds. One is practical: each of these theatres had a few key incidents for the period concerned, such as the Social War in Italy and the Slave Wars in Sicily, with sufficient material left from Diodorus' lost books to provide a focus in each chapter. The other rationale for this arrangement is of a more conceptual kind. Incidents in these places during the turbulent years of the late Republic must have had different implications, as well as different degrees of importance, to those involved in the making of those books of the *Bibliothèque*: Diodorus, a native Sicilian, his likely immediate source Posidonius, an Asiatic Greek-turned-Rhodian, and their ultimate Roman source(s). That such diverse perspectives are reflected in the Diodoran narrative of the aforesaid events are hypothetical at this stage. Yet the disproportionately large amount of attention paid to Sicily in the whole economy of the *Bibliothèque*, for example, would on its own be reason enough to assume the presence of Diodorus' regional bias towards his native island in these books, too, and to treat it in a separate chapter from that on Rome.

Chapter VI (*Postposidoniana*) slightly differs in character from the earlier chapters. It is more or less a product of pure *Quellenforschung*. The discussion begins with the much-debated problem of the terminal date of Posidonius' *Histories*, and proceeds to a close analysis of Posidonian fragments and Diodorus' narrative to determine when, and how, the philosopher ended his universal history. On the basis of existing evidence it argues that his main narrative did not carry on much beyond the year 87, and that Diodorus had to use (an)other source(s) for the rest of his work. Starting from this conclusion, the second half of the chapter will examine the character of the 'post-Posidonian narrative' and what the possibilities are, chronologically and conceptually, for establishing the source(s) that Diodorus used towards the end of his *Bibliothèque*.

In the process of my research I have had the privilege of consulting various people and learning from their respective expertise. I should especially like to thank Dr E. H. Bispham for many helpful and inspiring suggestions concerning Roman historiography, and for reading earlier drafts of the thesis; Mr J. G. Howie for, among



many other things, kindly helping me go through rather intricate yet indispensable German classical scholarship, a process of learning that taught me as much about English as about German; Dr N. A. McKeown for his insight into slave revolts and ancient slavery in general, from which I have greatly profited; Professor M. Angold for introducing me to useful modern works on Byzantine philological traditions; Professor I. G. Kidd for discussing Posidonian problems with me at an early stage. Yet my greatest debt is due to Mr R. G. Lewis and Dr N. K. Rutter: to the former I am most obliged for showing the right directions at various stages of the research and for generously providing me with material yet to be published; and to the latter for constantly encouraging me in my research, and above all for bearing its unbearably slow progress over years. Without their careful and patient supervision the present work would never have been completed. Needless to say I am solely and entirely responsible for all the views expressed in the thesis.

# CHAPTER I

## The Transmission of the Fragments (Diodorus Bks. 33-40)

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The Diodoran material that lies before us is so meagre that some kind of brief survey is required of the problems inherent in the fragmentary nature of the evidence. For, of all the forty books that once made up Diodorus' universal history, the Βιβλιοθήκη, only the first five books and Bks. 11-20 have been handed down to our day in a complete form. All the rest, i.e., Bks. 6-10 and Bks. 21-40, have been preserved only in the form of fragments. The greater part of the extant fragments for these books includes, among others, a cluster of extracts from the encyclopaedic anthologies compiled in tenth-century Byzantium, collectively known as the *Excerpta Constantiniana*. The remainder derive from various Church authors and, notably, from Byzantine scholarship: which include Eusebius, John Malalas, Tzetzes, John of Antioch, George Syncellus, Photius and the *Excerpta Hoescheliana*, a group of fragments from the Diodoran Bks. 21-26 which accompanied the first complete edition of the Constantinian *Excerpta de legationibus* by David Hoeschel in 1603. Among them, John of Antioch and the *Ecloga Chronographica* by George Syncellus, as well as the eccentric Tzetzes, respectively preserve one or two unreliable citations from Bks. 33-40, the last eight books of the *Bibliotheca* and the main focus of the current thesis. However, by far the most important for these books are the extracts derived from the surviving four sections of the Constantinian *Excerpts*, followed by nineteen fragments from the *Bibliotheca* (here and below I shall use the Latinised form of its title to avoid confusion with the work of our historian) by Photius, the ninth-century Byzantine patriarch.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See Walton (1957), Introduction, pp. vii-x; Malitz (1983), pp. 40f.; Spoerri (1991), pp. 316f. and n. 21; for the history of the past editions of those Diodoran fragments, see Walton, *op. cit.*, pp. x-xvi; Botteri (1983), pp. 670-673. Among pagan authors of antiquity, the earliest extant reference to Diodorus is made by the Elder Pliny (*NH pr. 25: Diodorus et βιβλιοθήκης historiam suam inscripsit*; also ?1.3C); during the Severan period Athenaeus (12.541F) quotes fairly accurately a passage from Bk. 11 of the *Bibliotheca* (11.25.4), and the likely use of Diodorus by Aelian, a contemporary of Athenaeus, in his *Varia Historia* is proposed



It follows, therefore, that our knowledge of Bks. 33-40 of Diodorus is entirely dependent on later compilers who extracted whatever attracted their attention from the Diodoran text at their disposal, however inaccurate their quotations, and however arbitrary their choice of material may have been. This process of transmission of our material inevitably raises some questions on its quality. As it turns out, the value of these extracts for reconstructing the text of Diodorus varies from one writer who cites him to another. Therefore it seems to me appropriate, and indeed imperative, to re-examine the character of the 'Diodoran fragments' as a preliminary exercise before we take them for granted as faithful reproductions of the now lost parts of Diodorus' own text. Hence this chapter will have to consist of a series of quotations rather than of thought-provoking discussions, yet with the following questions constantly being addressed. How scrupulously did those writers who quote Diodorus follow the wording of the original text? What did they choose from Diodorus, on what criteria and for what purposes? How much, if at all, did they interpolate their own words and even ideas in the original text? Was the Diodoran text that they had indeed authentic? And, finally, to what extent does their arrangement of Diodoran passages reflect, chronologically or thematically, that of the original? The citations examined in the following sections are those by the Constantinian excerptors and Photius, the two most important contributors to our Bks. 33-40 of the *Bibliothèque*. Passages from books other than Bks. 33-40 may also be taken as samples as the occasion arises.

## 1. THE TEXT

### CONSTANTINIAN *EXCERPTS*

The Byzantine Empire in the ninth and tenth centuries witnessed the emergence of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance, a revival of Atticism in literature under the general patronage of the Macedonian rulers of the Empire. Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus the

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by Zecchini (1987), pp. 50f. It is now generally recognised that from the 3rd century onwards Diodorus enjoyed a large readership among (largely Christian) chronographers, including Julius Africanus (from Euseb. *Praep. evang.* 10.10.1ff; 10.10.4 and 8 = Diod. 9.21), Porphyry (*Chron.* 1.1; 3.7; 3.9 Müller) and above all Eusebius (cf. also Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 49), as well as among Christian apologists such as Tertullian (*De cor.* 7.27 = Diod. 6.4; *Ad Nat.* 2.26; *Apol.* 10.7; cp. Mun. Fel. *Oct.* 21.4) and Ps.-Justin (*Cohort. ad Graec.* 9.3-4; 14.1-2; 25.4; 28.2 Marcovich); for the reception of Diodorus in late antiquity, see Zecchini (1987), pp. 43ff.; Sacks (1990), pp. 162f.



scholar was doubtless a child of his age, though not necessarily the sole driving force behind this literary movement. It is among the numerous and often voluminous writings he was directly or indirectly responsible for that we find a corpus of passages extracted from ancient and Byzantine works of literature, the Ἐκλογαί, more commonly known by its Latin translation, the *Excerpta*. The entire collection originally consisted of a vast number of extracts grouped under fifty three themes (ὑποθέσεις). The survival rate of these sections, however, was as startling as the scale of the whole work, since of the fifty three sections only four, known under the Latin titles *De legationibus*, *De virtutibus et vitiis*, *De insidiis* and *De sententiis*, have been handed down to us, and, with the exception of *De legationibus*, in incomplete form. All the four sections, which incidentally provide us with fragments of Polybius' lost books and to which the major part of Nicolaus owes its existence, contain a large number of quotations from Diodorus too.<sup>2</sup> This fact alone makes one wonder how much of the lost part of his work, or any lost works of antiquity for that matter, would have come to our knowledge through the *Excerpts* had the latter, or even a tenth of them, survived.<sup>3</sup>

One may appropriately ask what Constantine VII's purpose was in having this massive work produced under his own supervision. First of all, it was meant to be a work of history, surprising to our modern eyes yet clearly indicated in the preface that introduced, as it seems, each of the ὑποθέσεις (*De leg.* pp. 1-2; *De virt.* 1, pp. 1-2). This claim to historiography may narrowly be justifiable, since all the works that were excerpted, as far as can be seen from the surviving lists of authors, come from historians. From the same preface one would also discern that, like many of the

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<sup>2</sup> The four extant ὑποθέσεις of the *Excerpts* respectively provide the following sections of the lost Bks. 33-40 of the *Bibliothēke*: *De leg.*: 33.5.1-3, 16, 28a-b; 34/5.39; 36.15; 40.1; *De virt.* 1: 33.1.5-4.4, 5.4-6, 6, 7.1-3, 9-10, 12-15, 17-18, 21a-23, 27; 34/5.2.25-32, 2.34-37, 2.39, 2.41, 2.43, 3, 5, 8, 10-12, 14, 17.2, 20-23, 28.1, 29, 31, 33-35, 36, 38; 36.11-12, 16; 37.3.1-5, 5, 8, 10.1, 13, 16, 20, 25-28, 29.2-5; 38/9.3, 7-8.3, 9, 16-17, 19-20; Incertum 15 (Walton); *De insid.*: 33.4a, 5a, 20-21, 28; 34/5.2.24b, 28a, 35a, 39a; 36.2a; 37.5a, 22a-b; 40.1a-b, 5; *De sent.*: 33.7.4-8.1, 11, 19, 24-26; 34/5.2.33, 2.38, 2.40, 2.42, 2.44-48, 4, 6-7, 9, 13, 15-17.1, 18-19, 24-27, 28.2-3, 30, 30a-c, 32, 32a, 37; 36.9.2; 37.1, 3.6-4.1, 6-7, 9, 10.2-12.3, 14-15, 17-19, 21-24, 29.1, 30; 38/9.1-2, 6, 8.4, 10-14, 17-18, 21-22; 40.2, 4, 5a, 8.

<sup>3</sup> On the background of the compilation of the *Excerpts* and a good introduction to the work, see Lemerle (1986), pp. 323-327; Cf. also *RE* IV, *Constantinus* 16, cols. 1037-1039; Hunger (1978), pp. 244f. and pp. 360ff.; Brunt (1980), p. 483. For a classic example of historical and biographical work on Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, see Toynbee (1973).

historians themselves who were quoted in the anthology, Porphyrogenitus' primary aim was 'to gather from all corners of the inhabited world (ἐξ ἀπάσης ἐκασταχοῦ οἰκουμένης συλλέξασθαι)' 'knowledge of the past (τὴν τῶν φθασάντων γενέσθαι κατάληψιν)', to 'benefit everyone and be useful for life (καὶ κοινωφελὲς τῷ τε βίῳ ὀνησιφόρον)' - which amounts to the familiar utilitarian and moralist view of history. In order for this to be achieved, the emperor 'thought that this huge mass (of writings), tiring as it were even to hear of, should be divided up into small pieces (τὸ τῆς πλατυεπείας μέγεθος καὶ ἀκοᾶς ἀποκναῖον ... δεῖν ὥσθι καταμέρισαι τοῦτο εἰς λεπτομέρειαν)' and 'that the benefit obtained from them be made widely available to all (ἀνεπιφθόνως τε προθεῖναι κοινῇ τὴν ἐκ τούτων ἀναφυομένην ὠφέλειαν)'.<sup>4</sup>

Despite the scale of the enterprise, however, and for all the good intentions on the part of the emperor, the end result was far from 'embracing all the magnificence of history (ἐν αἷς καὶ ὑφ' αἷς ἅπασα ἱστορικὴ μεγαλουργία συγκλείεται)' with 'the sequence of narrative omitting absolutely nothing through division of ideas (that is, ὑποθέσεις) (οὐδὲν τὸ παράπαν ἀφαιρουμένης τῆς τοῦ λόγου ἀκολουθίας τῇ διαιρέσει τῶν ἐννοιῶν) but keeping its unity (ἀλλὰ σύσσωμον σωζούσης)'. We never know if this was what Porphyrogenitus had expected from his editors, yet the work was all but a literary failure, soon to be overshadowed by the success of another encyclopaedic anthology, the *Suda*. As it turns out, the *Excerpts* provide tedious reading of tattered passages often carelessly extracted, always irreparably severed from the original contexts, and frequently reassembled under a given theme, a ὑπόθεσις, for reasons that cannot always now be fathomed. Thus for modern researchers, the *Excerpts* are valuable merely as a rather unhelpful mode of transmission of (some portions of) lost works. As for the material contained there, the excerptors' choice of passages revolves around moral *exempla* of virtue and vices, and only so far as they are relevant to the 'theme' of each section, to the natural yet unfortunate exclusion of all the rest. These *exempla* were, it is true, not only to serve the purely ethical but, on a Polybian principle, the practical needs of a statesman too:

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Hunger (1978), p. 361; Lemerle (1986), pp. 326-329; for Constantine VII's interest in classical literature and his literary activities through agents, see Toynbee (1973), pp. 575-578.



the choice of themes such as ‘embassies’ or ‘plots against kings’ clearly reflects the particular obsessions of someone on the imperial throne. Yet the excerptors’ method of isolating passages from their chronological and historical contexts has been of little help to fair assessment of the works they excerpted, when the originals are already lost in their entirety outside the *Excerpts*. For one thing, their discriminatory selection of certain passages under a narrowly defined range of ‘themes’ has naturally resulted in heavily distorting the whole economy and character of an original work.<sup>5</sup> Furthermore, editors of historical fragments have had a hard time attempting to put those snippets back in their supposedly proper places in the works they originally came from. This naturally includes our historian too, and the modern dilemma caused by this nature of the Constantinian fragments is well reflected by various arrangements of them in different editions of Diodorus.<sup>6</sup>

For modern textual criticism, however, the merits of the *Excerpts* are as enormous as their sins. The anthology was a collection of ἐκλογαί, and not a summary of works of individual authors, as Livy’s *Periochae* are; it is purely a work of compilation, and the passages excerpted should ideally be reproduced verbatim from the original works.<sup>7</sup> The simplest yet most infallible way to test this general supposition would naturally be to compare their extracts with the complete text whence they originally came. In this respect we have been rather fortunate, since (with the exception of *De legationibus*) the *Excerpts* also contain a substantial number of passages from Diodorus’ Bks. 1-5 and 11-20, for which we have a complete manuscript tradition. The composition of the Diodoran material from those books in

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<sup>5</sup> Needless to say, the fact that only four sections out of the original fifty three are extant is as much to blame as the selection process of the *Excerpts* itself for causing the character of the original works to be distorted. Still this does not alter the fact that the extant *Excerpts* have often given a misleading impression of the works they excerpted as a whole, as Thompson (1985), p. 120, has aptly remarked concerning Polybius: ‘The last half of Polybius’ history, as we have it, consists largely of diplomatic history and the internal politics of the Greek cities. One would hardly guess that Polybius was also, perhaps even primarily, a military historian. The reason for this misleading impression is obvious. Most of the text is derived from the Constantinian collection devoted to embassies ... it’s something like preserving Book 5 of Thucydides while throwing away Books 6 and 7’; see also Brunt (1980), p. 483.

<sup>6</sup> Compare Dindorf’s *Teubner* edition of the Diodoran fragments (1866-1868<sup>4</sup>) with those of Walton’s *Loeb* edition (1957-1967); see also below. Problems of restoring individual excerpts to their original contexts are discussed in the following chapters: e.g., Chap. 4, pp. 96ff.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Malitz (1983), p. 40; Sacks (1990), p.144.



the *Excerpts* is as follows: *De virt.* 1, pp. 206-210 from Bks. 1-5, and pp. 228-252 from Bks. 11-20; *De insid.* pp. 190-197 from Bks. 1, 2 and 4; *De sent.* pp. 302-343 from Bks. 11, 12 and 15-20. A textual comparison I have made between these extracts and the corresponding passages in the complete text of Diodorus has, on the whole, confirmed the general faithfulness of the *Excerpts* to the original, and at the same time revealed occasional departures from this rule. Since it would be plainly superfluous to enumerate the close agreement between Diodorus and the *Excerpts* - which is the norm - I shall only outline the differences below, and some patterns that emerge from where such diversion takes place.<sup>8</sup>

1) Explanations: naturally a proper noun had to be inserted where, having already been mentioned in an earlier passage, it did not exist or a pronoun was used in the original text - which is self-explanatory. Often a brief character portrait, and occasionally a phrase or two explaining the original context or the historical background, are also attached at the beginning of an excerpt. Below are some examples of such explanatory additions:

Παυσανίαν τὸν ἐν ταῖς Πλαταιαῖς στρατηγήσαντα οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἐποίησαν ναύαρχον (*De virt.* 1, p. 229; cp. *Diod.* 11.44.1ff.)

Διοκλῆς ἐγένετο παρὰ Συρακουσίοις νομοθέτης (*De virt.* 1, p. 232; cp. *Diod.* 13.35.4)

Διονύσιος τοὺς καταφυγόντας ἐπὶ τὸν λόφον, τῶν Ἰταλιωτῶν αὐτοὺς δι' ἀνάγκην σφᾶς προδόντων αὐτῷ (*De virt.* 1, p. 237; cp. *Diod.* 14.105.3)

τῶν Ῥηγίνων πολιορκουμένων καὶ διὰ σπάνιν τροφῆς βοτάνας ἐσθιόντων δίκην θρεμμάτων (*De virt.* 1, p. 238; cp. *Diod.* 14.111.3)

Πελίου τοὺς τοῦ Ἰάσονος ἄρδην ἅπαντας ἀποκτείναντος, καὶ ἀνακομισθέντων τῶν Ἀργοναυτῶν, ἡ Μήδεια βουλεύεται κατὰ Πελίου τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον (*De insid.* p. 195; cp. *Diod.* 4.50.6)

Λεωνίδου μαθόντος παρ' αὐτομόλου Πέρσου ὡς διὰ τινος ἀτραποῦ ἀπελήφθησαν ὑπὸ Περσῶν εἰς τὸ μέσον νυκτός ... (*De sent.* p. 304; cp. *Diod.* 11.9.1)

τῶν Καρχηδονίων σχεδὸν πάντων ἀνηρημένων ὑπὸ Γέλωνος ... (*De sent.* p. 306; cp. *Diod.* 11.24.2)

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<sup>8</sup> A comparison between those excerpts and the original narrative as a whole would also tell a lot more about the criteria on which an excerptor chose what to extract and, often more importantly, what to omit. This kind of study has partially but ingeniously been done between Polybius and Polybian passages in the *Excerpta Antiqua* by Thompson (1985). For the distorting influence of historical excerpts on the original scope of a lost work, see above.

ὁ Ἐπαμινώνδας τῶν ἰατρῶν συγκληθέντων μετὰ τὸ πληγῆναι αὐτὸν ... (*De sent.* p. 319; cp. *Diod.* 15.87.6)

ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Μακεδὼν μετὰ τὸ κατακόψαι Θήβας (*De sent.* p. 327; cp. *Diod.* 17.16.1)

Διώξιππος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος μονομαχήσας καὶ νικήσας, εἶτα ἑαυτὸν ἀνελὼν ... (*De sent.* p. 332; cp. *Diod.* 17.101.4)

2) Omissions: phrases that refer to unexcerpted parts of the original text are omitted or altered, with the syntax changed to reflect those omissions/alterations - which is well understandable for the sake of consistency in any compilation work of this kind. Other types of omission, however, are not purely stylistic (and more critical for our purposes). Some historical details that obviously did not interest the excerptor, as well as such topics as are not directly relevant to the particular theme of a section, are not infrequently purged from passages. For example, an excerpt in *De virt.* (1, p. 241f.), taken from Bk. 16, omits two entire sections that can be found in the modern edition of the *Bibliothèque* (16.5.2-5.3). The following examples belong to this latter kind of omission. To show what exactly the excerptors chose to omit, I have, somewhat inelegantly, picked the missing portions from Diodorus' original text and inserted them (the Italicised text in parentheses) back into the Constantinian versions:

*De virt.* 1, p. 234: παρὰ τοῖς Καρχηδονίοις οὐδεμία τις ἦν φειδῶ τῶν ἀλισκομένων, ἀλλ' ἀσυμπαθεῖς τῶν ἡτυχηκότων οὓς μὲν ἀνεσταύρουν, οἷς δὲ ἀφορήτους ἐπῆγον ὕβρεις. (οὐ μὲν ἀλλὰ *δυεῖν πόλεων ἐξοριζομένων ἔγεμεν ἡ χώρα γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὄχλων: ἃ θεωροῦντες οἱ στρατιῶται δι' ὀργῆς μὲν εἶχον τὸν Διονύσιον, ἠλέουν δὲ τὰς τῶν ἀκληροῦντων τύχας.* *Diod.* 13.111.5) ἰδεῖν γὰρ ἦν παῖδας ἐλευθέρους καὶ παρθένους ἐπιγάμους <ἀν>αξίως τῆς ἡλικίας ὥς ἔτυχε κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὠρμημένας ...

*De virt.* 1, p. 250: Εὐμηλος ὁ τοῦ Πόντου βασιλεὺς Βυζαντίους καὶ Σινωπεῖς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων τῶν τὸν Πόντον οἰκούντων τοὺς πλείστους διετέλεσεν εὐεργετῶν. (*Καλλαντιανῶν δὲ πολιορκουμένων ὑπὸ Λυσιμάχου καὶ πιεζομένων τῇ σπάνει τῶν ἀναγκαίων χιλίους ὑπεδέξατο τοὺς διὰ τὴν σιτοδείαν ἐκχωρήσαντας. οἷς οὐ μόνον τῆς καταφυγῆς παρέσχετο τὴν ἀσφάλειαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πόλιν ἔδωκε κατοικεῖν, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τὴν ὀνομαζομένην Ψόαν καὶ τὴν χώραν κατεκληρούχησεν:* *Diod.* 20.25.1) ἔτι δὲ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλεόντων ...



*De insid.* p. 194: τὸ δὲ ἔθνος εἰς μεγάλην ἡγεμονίαν καὶ δόξαν προήγαγον. καὶ (τὸ μὲν οὖν πρῶτον παρὰ τὸν Ἀράξην ποταμὸν ὀλίγοι κατῴκουν παντελῶς καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀδοξίαν καταφρονούμενοι· ἓνα δὲ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντες βασιλέα φιλοπόλεμον καὶ διαφέροντα στρατηγία. Diod. 2.43.2) προσεκτήσαντο χώραν, τῆς μὲν ὀρεινῆς ἕως πρὸς τὸν Καύκασον, τῆς δὲ πεδινῆς <τὰ> παρὰ τὸν ὠκεανὸν καὶ τὴν Μαιῶτιν λίμνην ἕως Τανάιδος ποταμοῦ.<sup>9</sup>

3) Alterations: occasionally some words, or word orders, are found altered. In many cases, that may well be because the text that the excerptors had at their disposal came from a different tradition from those on which the modern standard editions of Diodorus are based, or simply because of variant readings by modern editors of the two respective texts.<sup>10</sup> Some of the deviations, however, would doubtless be due to the excerptors' careless reading/transcription of the material - as in an excerpt from Diodorus' Bk. 20, where the original '(sc. Ἀγαθοκλῆς) ἅπαντας κατηκόντισεν, ὄντας περὶ ἑπτακισχιλίους, ὡς Τίμαιός φησιν, ὡς δ' ἔνιοι γράφουσιν, εἰς τετρακισχιλίους' (20.89.5) is replaced by 'Ἀγαθοκλῆς φυγάδας, ὡς μὲν τινες

<sup>9</sup> Other examples include: *De virt.* 1, p. 206: Νινύας ὁ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος υἱὸς παραλαβὼν τὴν βασιλείαν (ἤρχεν εἰρηνικῶς, τὸ φιλοπόλεμον καὶ κεκινδυνευμένον τῆς μητρὸς οὐδαμῶς ζηλώσας. πρῶτον μὲν γάρ. Diod. 2.21.1) ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διέτριβεν ...; *De virt.* 1, p. 245: τὸν δὲ παῖδα τρέφων ὡς υἱὸν ἰδίον καὶ βασιλικῆς τιμῆς ἀξιῶσιν. (προσκαλεσάμενος δ' αὐτὸν καὶ φιλήσας, ὡς ἰδὲν ἀδεῶς βλέψαντα καὶ μηδὲν ὀλως καταπλαγέντα, πρὸς τοὺς περὶ τὸν Ἡφαιστῖωνα εἶπεν ὅτι ὁ παῖς ὢν ἐξ ἐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὑπὲρ τὴν ἡλικίαν προφαίνων πολλῶν βελτίων ἐστὶ τοῦ πατρὸς. Diod. 17.38.2) περὶ δὲ τῆς Δαρείου γυναικὸς καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν σεμνότητος πρόνοιαν ἔξιν ἔφησεν ...; *De insid.* p. 193: ... ἱππέων δὲ χιλίων εἰς Καδουσίους, (παρ' οἷς ἦν ἐκδεδομένος τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφὴν τῷ μάλιστα δυναστεύοντι κατὰ τοὺς τοῖς τόπους. Diod. 2.33.2), γενόμενον δὲ ἀποστάτην αἰρεθῆναι στρατηγὸν διὰ τὴν ἀνδρείαν; *De insid.* p. 193: διὸ θαυμαζόμενον αἰρεθῆναι βασιλέα (καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν συνεχῶς λεηλατεῖν καὶ πάντα τρόπον καταφθείρειν. Diod. 2.33.4). μεγάλῃ δὲ δόξῃ τυχόντα καὶ γῆρα μέλλοντα καταστρέφειν τὸν βίον ἀρὰν θέσθαι παραιτησάμενον τὸν διαδεξάμενον τὴν ἀρχὴν ...

<sup>10</sup> For example, *De sent.* p. 315 has τοῦτον οἱ φιλόσοφοι συνελθόντες ἐξηγόρασσαν, where Diod. 15.7.1 would read τοῦτον μὲν οἱ φίλοι συνελθόντες ἐξηγόρασσαν. Yet the critical apparatus of the Loeb edition of Diodorus (Oldfather, 1954, p. 342) also lists οἱ φίλοι as a variant reading. Different forms of proper names, or simply different names, also often appear in the standard text of Diodorus and the corresponding passages in the *Excerpts*: e.g., τῷ Λαγωδίῳ (*De virt.* 1, p. 231) for τῷ Ἀλγίδῳ (Diod. 12.24.4); Φαρνάβαζον (*De virt.* 1, p. 236) for Τισσαφέρην (Diod. 14.35.2); Σύγαμβρις (*De virt.* 1, p. 246) for Σισύγγαμβρις (Diod. 17.59.7); περὶ τὴν Βρεττανίαν (*De virt.* 1, p. 250) for περὶ τὴν Βρεττίαν (Diod. 19.103.5); τὸν τῶν βαρβάρων ἡγεμόνα (*De insid.* p. 192) for τὸν τῶν Ἀράβων ἡγεμόνα (Diod. 2.24.5); Μέντωρ (*De sent.* p. 322) for Τέννης (Diod. 16.43). Many of these variations could have arisen either from the excerptors' sheer mistakes or from variant readings of the Diodoran and Constantinian manuscripts on the part of modern editors.



φασιν, ἑπτακισχιλίους, ὥς δὲ Τίμαιός φησι, τετρακισχιλίους κατηκόντισεν' (*De virt.* 1, p. 252), with Timaeus made to look apologetic about Agathocles!

4) Abbreviations: the excerptor would sometimes paraphrase in contracted form rather than excerpt part of the text. The reason for his compressing the original, as it seems likely, is more or less the same as his reason for omission: lack of direct relevance of the summarised details to the particular theme of a section. Thus, for example, *De virt.* 1, p. 209, 'Αἰόλον τὸν Ἰππότου ... φασὶ γενέσθαι εὐσεβῆ καὶ δίκαιον, ἔτι δὲ πρὸς τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπον. καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ὑπήκουον οἱ Σικελιώται διὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διαβεβοημένην εὐσέβεια ...' looks more like a summary of Diodorus (5.7.7-8.3) than an excerpt in the strict sense of the word. I have listed some examples below, each paired with the corresponding, fuller passage from the complete text:

Κλέαρχος ὁ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀποσταλεὶς πρὸς Βυζαντίους διαφερομένους πρὸς ἀλλήλους πολλοὺς τῶν Βυζαντίων ἀνελὼν (*De virt.* 1, p. 236).

ἐξέπεμψαν οὖν οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται Κλέαρχον καταστήσοντα τὰ κατὰ τὴν πόλιν: οὗτος δὲ πιστευθεὶς περὶ τῶν ὅλων καὶ μισθοφόρους πολλοὺς ἀθροίσας, οὐκέτι προστάτης ἦν, ἀλλὰ τύραννος. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τινὶ θυσίᾳ καλέσας ἀνείλε, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα ἀναρχίας οὔσης ἐν τῇ πόλει, τριάκοντα μὲν τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Βυζαντίους συνήρπασε καὶ περιθεὶς κάλων ἀπεστραγγάλισε (*Diod.* 14.12.2-3).

συμφοιτητῆς Ἐπαμινώνδου ἐγένετο Φίλιππος ὁ πατὴρ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Μακεδόνης, ἀμφοτέρωι δὲ ἀκροαταὶ Πυθαγορείου τινὸς φιλοσόφου (*De virt.* 1, p. 241)

τοῦ δ' Ἐπαμινώνδου Πυθαγόριον ἔχοντος φιλόσοφον ἐπιστάτην συντρεφόμενος ὁ Φίλιππος μετέσχεν ἐπὶ πλεῖον τῶν Πυθαγορίων λόγων. ἀμφοτέρωι δὲ τῶν μαθητῶν προσενεγκαμένων φύσιν τε καὶ φιλοπονίαν ὑπῆρξαν ἑκάτεροι διαφέροντες ἀρετῇ (*Diod.* 16.2.3)

τὸ τοῦ Γέλωνος τοῦ Συρακοσίων βασιλέως [τὸ] μνήμα κατέστρεψεν Ἀγαθοκλῆς πολυτελὲς ὃν καὶ Καρχηδόνιοι (*De sent.* p. 308).

ἐνταῦθα δ' αὐτοῦ ταφέντος ὁ μὲν δῆμος τάφον ἀξιόλογον ἐπιστήσας ἡρωικαῖς τιμαῖς ἐτίμησε τὸν Γέλωνα, ὕστερον δὲ τὸ μὲν μνήμα ἀνείλον Καρχηδόνιοι στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ Συρακούσας, τὰς δὲ τύρσεις Ἀγαθοκλῆς κατέβαλε διὰ τὸν φθόνον (*Diod.* 11.38.5).



τοῦ Περσῶν βασιλέως ἐπὶ τὴν Φοινίκην στρατεύσαντος ὁ τῆς Σιδῶνος δυνάστης Μέντωρ πυθόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως ... (*De sent.* p. 322)

ὁ μὲν τῶν Περσῶν βασιλεὺς ἐκ τῆς Βαβυλῶνος τὴν ἀνάξευξιν ποιησάμενος μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως προῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Φοινίκην: ὁ δὲ τῆς Σιδῶνος δυνάστης Τέννης πυνθανόμενος τὸ μέγεθος τῆς τῶν Περσῶν δυνάμεως καὶ νομίσας τοὺς ἀφεστηκότας οὐκ ἀξιομάχους εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν ἰδίᾳ πορίζειν ἔκρινεν (*Diod.* 16.43.1)<sup>11</sup>

For those Constantinian fragments of which the original text is now lost, this kind of comparison would naturally be impossible. However, there are some rare cases in which two of the four surviving ὑποθέσεις of the *Excerpts* happen to have preserved extracts from the same portions of the lost text. In these cases the two parallel passages serve as a check on each other, and it can be observed that, while they are mostly duplicates from the same text, they often betray exactly the same kind of variations as in the above instances: explanations of the contexts, omissions or contractions, and occasionally even variants.<sup>12</sup> All such diversions from Diodorus'

<sup>11</sup> Compare also the original text and the Constantinian versions in the following examples:

Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους εἰς Θερμοπύλας καὶ προσέταξεν λέγειν ὅτι ... (*De sent.* p. 303); ὁ μὲν Ξέρξης ἀπέστειλεν ἀγγέλους εἰς τὰς Θερμοπύλας, τοὺς ἅμα μὲν κατασκεπόμενους τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσι περὶ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν πολέμου: προσέταξε δ' αὐτοῖς παραγγέλλειν, ὅτι ... (*Diod.* 11.5.4)

Διονύσιος ποιήματα γράφειν ὑπεστήσατο μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς: τούτων δὲ ἀναγνωσθέντων καὶ μοχθηρῶν ὄντων ἐπερωτήθη Φιλόξενος ὁ διθυραμβοποιὸς περὶ τῶν ποιημάτων τίνα κρίσιν ἔχοι (*De sent.* p. 314); διὸ καὶ ποιήματα γράφειν (sc. Dionysius) ὑπεστήσατο μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς, καὶ τοὺς ἐν τούτοις δόξαν ἔχοντας μετεπέμπετο καὶ προτιμῶν αὐτοὺς συνδιέτριβε καὶ τῶν ποιημάτων ἐπιστάτας καὶ διορθωτὰς εἶχεν. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων διὰ τὰς εὐεργεσίας τοῖς πρὸς χάριν λόγοις μετεωριζόμενος ἐκαυχᾶτο πολὺ μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τοῖς ποιήμασιν ἢ τοῖς ἐν πολέμῳ κατωρθωμένοις. τῶν δὲ συνόντων αὐτῷ ποιητῶν Φιλόξενος ὁ διθυραμβοποιός, μέγιστον ἔχων ἀξίωμα κατὰ τὴν κατασκευὴν τοῦ ἰδίου ποιήματος, κατὰ τὸ συμπόσιον ἀναγνωσθέντων τῶν τοῦ τυράννου ποιημάτων μοχθηρῶν ὄντων ἐπερωτήθη περὶ τῶν ποιημάτων τίνα κρίσιν ἔχοι (*Diod.* 15.6.1-2)

τῶν Περσῶν παρὰ καιρὸν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἀνακομισθέντων καὶ γενομένης τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ διαφορᾶς πρὸς Ἴφικράτην καὶ ὑποπτεύσαντος αὐτοῦ μὴ συλληφθῆ καὶ τύχῃ τιμωρίας, καθάπερ Κόνων ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, καὶ λαθόντος νυκτὸς καὶ φυγόντος ... (*De sent.* p. 317); οἱ δὲ τῶν Περσῶν ἡγεμόνες, ἀντιπραττούσης αὐτοῖς [αἰεὶ] τῆς περιστάσεως, ἔγνωσαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ποιήσασθαι. διόπερ ἐπανιόντων αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν, καὶ γενομένης διαφορᾶς τῷ Φαρναβάζῳ πρὸς τὸν Ἴφικράτην, ὑποπτεύσας ὁ Ἴφικράτης μὴ συλληφθῆ καὶ τιμωρίας τύχῃ, καθάπερ Κόνων ἔπαθεν ὁ Ἀθηναῖος, ἔκρινε λάθρα φεύγειν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου: διὸ καὶ παρασκευασάμενος πλοῖον ἔλαθε νυκτὸς ἀπαλλαγεῖς καὶ καταπλεύσας εἰς τὰς Ἀθήνας (*Diod.* 15.43.4-5).

<sup>12</sup> Explanations: compare *De virt.* 1, p. 254 (= *Diod.* 21.12.4f.) and *De sent.* p. 345 (= *Diod.* 21.12.6); *De virt.* ,1 p. 279 (= *Diod.* 30.21.1) and *De sent.* p. 369 (= *Diod.* 30.21.2); *De insid.* p. 211 (= *Diod.* 40.5.1) and *De sent.* p. 406 (= *Diod.* 40.5a.1); omissions/contractions: cp. *De*



original text as itemised above may seem rather minor, it is true, in comparison with the deforming effect of the selection process of the *Excerpts* itself on the character of his work as a whole. And omission of a few phrases, or even sentences, from a single passage may seem insignificant in comparison with the overwhelming scale of the loss which the entire *Bibliotheca* has suffered. However, the extent to which the excerptors adhered to what little they chose to extract is still significant for our research, and has had to be assessed, not least because their extracts form the sole basis to examine, from a textual perspective, the more problematic material that also transmitted the lost Diodoran books 33-40 - that is, the bibliographic epitome by Photius.

PHOTIUS' *BIBLIOTHECA* Photius, made patriarch of Constantinople in 858, was without doubt one of the most learned Byzantine *literati* of the time and a precursor of the Macedonian Renaissance. His anthology, known under the title *Bibliotheca*, has appropriately been described as 'the sole work of literary history which Byzantium has left us'.<sup>13</sup> Compiled at the time of his embassy to the Arabs ('Ἀσσυρίους'), probably in 837/8, this compendium of literary works was initially intended to acquaint his brother Tarasius, on his request, with various pagan and Christian works Photius had read in the form of general reports. This primary purpose is clearly articulated in his prefatory letter (*Ep. ad Taras.* 1-5) and already indicated in its original title, 'List and enumeration of the books I have read, which, for his principal appreciation of them, my beloved brother Tarasius asked; these are three hundred minus twenty and one (Ἀπογραφὴ καὶ συναρίθμησις τῶν ἀνεγνωσμένων ἡμῖν βιβλίων ὧν εἰς κεφαλαιώση διάγνωσιν ὁ ἡγαπημένος ἡμῶν ἀδελφὸς Ταράσιος ἐξητήσατο· ἔστι δὲ ταῦτα εἴκοσι δεόντων ἑφ' ἐνὶ τριακόσια).'<sup>14</sup> The *Bibliotheca* is in fact a voluminous collection of extracts and

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*virt.* 1, pp. 267f. (= Diod. 27.6.1) and *De sent.* p. 356 (= Diod. 27.6.2); *De virt.* 1, p. 269 (= Diod. 27.12.1) and *De sent.* p. 357 (= Diod. 27.12.2); *De leg.* p. 402 (= Diod. 31.5.3) and *De sent.* p. 372 (= Diod. 31.5.2a; cf. 5.1 from Photius); *De sent.* p. 381 (= Diod. 32.27.1) and *De virt.* 1, p. 293f. (= Diod. 32.27.3); variants: *De leg.* p. 405 (= Diod. 33.5.3) and *De virt.* 1, p. 295 (= Diod. 33.5.4); ?*De virt.* 1, p. 316 (= Diod. 37.3.5) and *De sent.* p. 394 (= Diod. 37.3.6).

<sup>13</sup> Lemerle (1986), p. 220.

<sup>14</sup> For the background of his compilation of the *Bibliotheca*, Lemerle (1986), pp. 35-41; 219-220; Botteri (1983), pp. 666f.; Hunger (1978), vol. 2, p. 8. For the date of his mission,



summaries, often partial, of historical, rhetorical, philosophical and theological works by various authors of antiquity and Byzantine times. Of 279 codices in total, thirty-nine deal with thirty-one historians.<sup>15</sup> The synopsis of Diodorus appears in Codices 70 and 244. The former is a general introduction to the *Bibliothèque* (p. 35a), where Photius, praising the historian for his clear and simple style, a style 'particularly suitable for history-writing,' has simply copied the larger part of his wording from Diodorus' own first proem to Bk. 1 (esp. 1.4.4-7).

The latter codex (pp. 377a-393b), the principal part of his précis of the work, is what matters to the question of the transmission of the Diodoran material. Photius himself claims to have read all the forty books of the *Bibliothèque* (p. 35a 2-3; cf. p. 377a 25f., 'ἄλλοι τε λόγοι...'). Yet oddly enough, this main codex actually covers only Bks. 31-40 (31.5.1, 6, 9.1-5, 19.1-8, 25.2, 42; 32.9d, 10-12, 14, 16, 21; 33.1.1-1.4;<sup>16</sup> 34/35.1.1-2.24; 36.1-2, 3.1-9.1, 10, 13-14; 37.2; 38/39.4, 15; 40.3), and even among those few books that are covered, superscripts of book numbers for Bks. 33, 35 and 39 are carelessly missed out. Yet as it happens, these are precisely among those Diodoran books that are now lost, and this fact leads to two obvious consequences. On the one hand, Photius' work has conveniently preserved for us an outline of the general contents of Diodorus' lost books. Yet on the other, with no complete manuscript tradition of these books to compare with, we are left without means to examine Photius' textual fidelity, or a lack thereof, to the original.<sup>17</sup> Unlike the Constantinian *Excerpts* which is a collection of verbatim or almost verbatim quotations, the Photian material is an *epitome* of Diodorus' history, worked out in a manner less exhaustive than Justin's abridgement of Pompeius Trogus, yet in better

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Lemerle (*ibid.*), pp. 35ff; 207ff. His dedication of the work to his brother may have been merely a literary convention, the sort of thing which had been done as early as Hesiod (*Op. et Dies*, 10; 27-39; 213; 274f; 286 and *passim*).

<sup>15</sup> Lemerle (1986), pp. 224-225; also see the table of the *Bibliotheca* in Henry, vol. 11 (1991), pp. 17-29.

<sup>16</sup> This section is included in the extracts classified as 'Bk. 32'; but see below, note 32.

<sup>17</sup> Needless to say, the most effective way to analyse Photius' excerpting method would be to compare the texts of other ancient authors whose works are extant with Photius' précis of them; but this goes beyond the scope of the present study; cf. Botteri (1983), p. 667: 'Évidemment il faudra attendre qu'une équipe de chercheur entreprenne l'analyse comparée des textes anciens dont nous disposons encore, et des morceaux littéraires cités dans la *Bibliothèque* (sc. de Photius).'



shape than Livy's *Periochae*.<sup>18</sup> From a comparison, however, of the Photian text with the shredded yet fuller quotations of the Constantinian *Excerpts* there emerge certain tendencies of the patriarch's working method. In a few instances, for example, he seems to have excerpted the Diodoran original verbatim or almost verbatim, apart from the exact duplication of Diodorus' *prooemium* that we have observed in the above. The following quotations from the *Bibliotheca* and the corresponding passages of the *Excerpts* demonstrate such instances:

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς μάχης μετὰ πεντακοσίων τὴν φυγὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὰς καλουμένας Ἄβας πρὸς Διοκλέα τὸν δυνάστην, πρὸς ὃν ἦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον προεκτεθειμένος ὄντα νήπιον. εἶτα οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡλιάδην ἡγεμόνες, οἱ συνῆσαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, λάθρᾳ διεπρεσβεύσαντο περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δολοφονήσιν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου περὶ ὧν ἡξίουν, οὐ μόνον προδόται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλὰ καὶ φονεῖς ἐγενήθησαν (pp. 377a 34-377b 4 = Diod. 32.9d, 10.1).

ὁ δὲ Ἀλέξανδρος ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς μάχης μετὰ πεντακοσίων τὴν φυγὴν ἐποιήσατο τῆς Ἀραβίας εἰς τὰς καλουμένας Ἄβας πρὸς Διοκλέα τὸν δυνάστην, πρὸς ὃν ἦν καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἀντίοχον προεκτεθειμένος ὄντα νήπιον. εἶθ' οἱ μὲν περὶ τὸν Ἡλιάδην καὶ Κάσιον ἡγεμόνες, οἱ συνῆσαν Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, λάθρᾳ διεπρεσβεύσαντο περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ἀσφαλείας, ἐπαγγελλόμενοι δολοφονήσιν τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον· συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Δημητρίου περὶ ὧν ἡξίουν, οὐ μόνον προδόται τοῦ βασιλέως ἀλλὰ καὶ φονεῖς ἐγενήθησαν (*De insid.* p. 204).

Compare also:

ἀλλ' οὐδὲν οὕτω γλυκὺ φαίνεται τοῖς ἡτυχηκόσιν ὥς τὸ ζῆν, καίπερ αὐτῶν ἄξια θανάτου πασχόντων. καὶ πέρας ἐν ταύταις ἂν ταῖς ἀνάγκαις κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου, τηρῶν τό τε περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος ἐπιεικές, παρήνευσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἀνθρώπινον φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, τὴν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι. διόπερ εἰς ἐπιεικεστέραν δοθεὶς φυλακὴν, καὶ κεναῖς ἐλπίσι προσανέχων.... (p. 382a 10-19 = Diod. 31.9.4-5).

οὐδὲν οὕτω γλυκὺ φαίνεται τῶν ἡτυχηκότων ενίος ὥς τὸ ζῆν, καίπερ αὐτῶν ἄξια θανάτου πασχόντων....εἰς τὸ κατάγειον ἐμβληθεὶς οἶκημα ἐκείσε ἂν κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον, εἰ μὴ ὁ Αἰμίλιος προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου καὶ τηρῶν τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν ἀξίωμα καὶ τὸ τῆς πατρίδος

<sup>18</sup> To borrow the words by Brunt (1980), p. 477, on the definition of an 'epitome', the Diodoran passages in Photius for the most part, 'even when they are more than bare allusions and may look like quotations, may be nothing but résumés or at least be very far from verbal transcriptions.'



ἐπιεικὲς παρήνευσε τῇ συγκλήτῳ σχετλιάζων, εἰ μὴ τὸν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων φόβον εὐλαβοῦνται, τήν γε τοὺς ὑπερηφάνως ταῖς ἐξουσίαις χρωμένους μετερχομένην νέμεσιν αἰδεῖσθαι. διόπερ εἰς ἐπιεικεστέραν δοθεὶς φυλακὴν, διὰ τὴν τῆς συγκλήτου χρηστότητα κεναῖς ἐλπίσι προσανείχεν (*De sent.* p. 372 and *De virt.* 1, p. 281 = Diod. 31.9.6-7).

Such a massive collection of material as can be found in Photius' compendium could not have been managed in a short time-span. On his mission Photius must have carried out, with the help of a secretary as he tells us, only the editing part of his reading notes that had previously been accumulated. Neither is he likely, despite his own claim, to have drafted his notes 'as (his) memory would put each of them forward' (*Ep. ad Taras.* 7-9): the generally accurate summaries and extracts he presents may well themselves reveal that the patriarch composed his report, at least at its preliminary stage, with the original text in front of him.<sup>19</sup> The same would be the case, too, with his dealing with our historian. In a few rare instances Photius' extracts contain even more detailed information than the parallel passages in the Constantinian *Excerpts*. We may note as an example that in the corresponding passages quoted above, whereas *De virt.* (1 p. 281 = Diod. 31.9.7) calls the *princeps senatus* only ὁ Αἰμίλιος, Photius cites his *praenomen* too (Μάρκος Αἰμίλιος). More revealing are the following two groups of extracts:

εἰσαγαγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἑνὸς τῶν δημάρχων Ἀντονίου, πρῶτος μὲν ἐποιεῖτο τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πρεσβείας λόγον Φιλόφρων, μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ἀστυμήδης. πολλὰ δὲ πρὸς δέησιν καὶ παραίτησιν εἰπόντες καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσαντες μόλις ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὀλοσχεροῦς φόβου παρελύθησαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων πικρῶς ὠνειδίσθησαν (p. 381a 42-b 14 = Diod. 31.5.1).

εἰσαγαγόντος δὲ αὐτοῦς εἰς τὴν σύγκλητον ἑνὸς τῶν δημάρχων, τοῦ καὶ τὸν παρακαλοῦντα πρὸς τὸν πόλεμον στρατηγὸν κατασπάσαντος ἀπὸ τῶν ἐμβόλων, ἐποιεῖτο τοὺς λόγους.... καὶ πολλὰ πρὸς δέησιν εἰπόντες ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις δι' ὧν τοῦ μὲν ὀλοσχεροῦς φόβου παρείθησαν, περὶ δὲ τῶν κατὰ μέρος ἐγκλημάτων πικρῶς ὠνειδίσθησαν (*De leg.* p.402 = Diod. 31.5.3); οὗτοι δὲ πολλὰ πρὸς δέησιν καὶ παραίτησιν εἰπόντες καὶ τὸ τελευταῖον κατὰ τὴν παροιμίαν τὸ κύκνειον ᾄσαντες μέρος μόλις ἔλαβον ἀποκρίσεις, δι' ὧν τοῦ φόβου παρείθησαν (*De sent.* p. 372 = Diod. 5.2a).

<sup>19</sup> Hunger (1978), vol. 2, p. 8; Botteri (1983), pp. 667f.; Lemerle (1986), pp. 223-224.



In Bks. 33-40, however, we unfortunately find no such extensive correspondence. Nevertheless, where a comparison with the *Excerpts* is at all possible, here and there identical or nearly identical passages can be found scattered about, though usually stretching over just a few lines:

ἦν δὲ καὶ δίκαιος ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τῶν λαφύρων καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἐξῆρε τοῖς δώροις (p. 384a 12-14 = Diod. 33.1.3)

καὶ δίκαιος ἦν ἐν ταῖς διανομαῖς τῶν λαφύρων καὶ κατ' ἀξίαν τιμῶν τοὺς ἀνδραγαθήσαντας ἐξαιρέτοις δώροις (*De virt.* 1, p. 294 = Diod. 33.1.5)

οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κωλύειν μὲν ἐπεχείρουν, κολάζειν δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν κυρίων, οἱ ἐδέσποζον τῶν ληστῶν, ἠναγκάζοντο περιορᾶν ληστευομένην τὴν ἐπαρχίαν: οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ τῶν κτητόρων ἵππεῖς ὄντες τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κριταὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν κατηγορουμένοις στρατηγοῖς γινόμενοι, φοβεροὶ τοῖς ἀρχουσιν ὑπῆρχον (p. 384b 4-10 = Diod. 34/5.2.3)

οἱ δὲ στρατηγοὶ κωλύειν μὲν ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ἀπόνοιαν τῶν οἰκετῶν, κολάζειν δὲ οὐ τολμῶντες διὰ τὴν ἰσχὺν καὶ τὸ βάρος τῶν κυρίων ἠναγκάζοντο περιορᾶν τὴν ἐπαρχίαν ληστευομένην. οἱ πλείστοι γὰρ τῶν κτητόρων ἵππεῖς ὄντες ἐντελεῖς τῶν Ῥωμαίων, καὶ κριταὶ τοῖς ἀπὸ τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν κατηγορουμένοις στρατηγοῖς γινόμενοι, φοβεροὶ ταῖς ἀρχαῖς ὑπῆρχον (*De virt.* 1, p. 303 = Diod. 34/5.2.31)

ἐξ ὧν ἀποθηριωθέντες οἱ προπηλακιζόμενοι συνέθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑπὲρ ἀποστάσεως καὶ φόνου τῶν κυρίων. καὶ πρὸς τὸν Εὐνουν ἐλθόντες ἡρώτων εἰ συγχωρεῖται παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ βεβουλευμένον (p. 385a 13-17 = Diod. 34/5.2.10)

συνετίθεντο πρὸς ἀλλήλους οἱ δοῦλοι περὶ ἀποστάσεως καὶ φόνου τῶν κυρίων. παρελθόντες δὲ πρὸς τὸν Εὐνουν οὐκ ἄπωθεν διατρίβοντα ἡρώτων εἰ συγχωρεῖται παρὰ τῶν θεῶν αὐτοῖς τὸ βεβουλευμένον (*De insid.* p. 206 = Diod. 34/5.2.24b.1)

πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ Νουκερίαν, τριάκοντα οἰκετῶν συνωμοσίαν ποιησαμένων καὶ ταχὺ κολασθέντων, δευτέρα ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην, διακοσίων οἰκετῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ ταχὺ καταλυθέντων. τρίτη δὲ παράδοξος γέγονέ τις. ἦν Τίτος Μενουίτιος, ἵππεὺς μὲν Ῥωμαίων, μεγαλοπλούτου δὲ πατρὸς παῖς. οὗτος ἠράσθη θεραπαινίδος ἀλλοτρίας κάλλει διαφερούσης (p. 386b 32-39 = Diod. 36.2.1-2)

πρώτη μὲν ἡ περὶ τὴν Νουκερίαν, τριάκοντα οἰκετῶν συνωμοσίαν ποιησαμένων καὶ ταχὺ κολασθέντων, δευτέρα δὲ ἡ περὶ τὴν Καπύην, διακοσίων οἰκετῶν ἐπαναστάντων καὶ ταχὺ κολασθέντων: τρίτη δὲ ἀπόστασις ἐγένετο παράδοξος καὶ πολὺ τὰς εἰθισμένας διαλλάττουσα. ἦν γάρ τις Τίτος μὲν Οὐέτιος, ἵππεὺς δὲ Ῥωμαίων, δς ἔχων πατέρα



μεγαλόπλουτον καὶ νέος ὦν παντελῶς εἰς ἐπιθυμίαν ἤλθεν ἀλλοτρίας  
θεραπευίδος κάλλει διαφερούσης (*De insid.* p. 208 = Diod. 36.2a.1)

In these cases, Photius seems to have followed Diodorus' original text almost to the letter, with a handful of words or sentences at times omitted or altered. A far larger part of his work, however, shows that it was not his normal practice merely to copy the original word by word. As he himself hints in his prefatory letter, what he was trying to present is a 'general summary (διατυπωτικήν τινα καὶ κοινοτέραν: *Ep. ad Taras.* 4)', that is, an abbreviated version of the original. As we shall see below, a further comparison of Photius' text with those of the Constantinian excerptors more clearly reveals the fact that his summaries are of mixed quality with greatly varying degrees of reliability. At best, it shows close affinities in language, though certain details are omitted, with the excerptors' fuller extracts from the same first-hand text: compare, for example, his summary of the slave revolt in Italy that heralded the second Sicilian revolt (pp. 386b 40-387a 9 = Diod. 36.2.2-3) with the more complete narrative in the excerpts (*De insid.* p. 208 = Diod. 36.2a). Some of the rest are yet further condensed but still maintain the general outlines of the narrative and/or linguistic features of the Diodoran original: as in the case of various parts of the account of the First Sicilian Slave War, where parallel passages run between Photius and the *Excerpts*.<sup>20</sup> One example that falls in this category is the following pair of passages on the second Sicilian revolt from the two works:

οὐ γὰρ οἱ δοῦλοι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ ἄποροι πᾶσαν  
ἄρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐργαζόμενοι, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας δούλους  
τε καὶ ἐλευθέρους, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγέλλοι τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπόνοιαν,  
ἐφόνευον ἀναιδῶς. διὸ καὶ πάντες οἱ κατὰ τὰς πόλεις ὑπελάμβανον τὰ  
μὲν ἐντὸς τειχῶν μόλις εἶναι ἴδια, τὰ δ' ἐκτὸς ἀλλότρια καὶ δοῦλα τῆς  
παρανόμου χειροκρασίας. καὶ ἄλλα δὲ πολλὰ πολλοῖς ἄτοπα κατὰ τὴν  
Σικελίαν ἐτολμάτο (p. 389a 37-b 4 = Diod. 36.6)

οὐ μόνον τὸ πλῆθος τῶν οἰκετῶν τὸ πρὸς τὴν ἀπόστασιν ὠρμημένον  
κατέτρεχεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ τὰς ἐπὶ χώρας κτήσεις οὐκ  
ἔχοντες ἐτρέποντο πρὸς ἄρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν. οἱ γὰρ ἐλλιπεῖς ταῖς

<sup>20</sup> To compare the parallel fragments on the First Sicilian Slave War in Photius and the Constantinian excerpts respectively, Jacoby's arrangement of F108 *FGH Anhang*, particularly its earlier part, should be quite convenient. For the implications, however, that can potentially arise from this parallel arrangement for the original structure of the Diodoran narrative, see below.



οὐσίαις διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν ἅμα καὶ παρανομίαν ἐξεχέοντο κατὰ συστροφὰς ἐπὶ τὴν χώραν καὶ τὰς μὲν ἀγέλας τῶν θρεμμάτων ἀπήλαννον, τοὺς δὲ ἐν τοῖς σταθμοῖς τεθησαυρισμένους καρποὺς διήρπαζον, καὶ τοὺς περιτυγχάνοντας ἀνέδην ἐλευθέρους τε καὶ δούλους ἐφόνευον, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἀπαγγείλῃ τὴν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀπόνοιάν τε καὶ παρανομίαν (followed by a criticism of the Romans and more reports of violence) ... διὸ καὶ πάντες ὑπελάμβανον τὰ μὲν ἐντὸς τῶν πυλῶν μόγις ὑπάρχειν ἴδια, τὰ δὲ ἐκτὸς τῶν τειχῶν ἀλλότρια καὶ δοῦλα τῆς παρανόμου χειροκρατίας εἶναι. καθόλου δ' ἦν κατὰ πόλεις φυρμός καὶ σύγχυσις τῶν κατὰ νόμους δικαίων. οἱ γὰρ ἀποστάται τῶν ὑπαίθρων κρατοῦντες ἀνεπίβατον ἐποιοῦντο τὴν χώραν, μνησικακοῦντες τοῖς δεσπόταις, οὐκ ἐμπιπλάμενοι δὲ τῶν ἀνελπίστων εὐτυχημάτων: οἱ δὲ ἐντὸς τῶν τειχῶν δοῦλοι νοσοῦντες ταῖς ψυχαῖς καὶ μετεωριζόμενοι πρὸς ἀπόστασιν φοβερώτατοι τοῖς κυρίοις ὑπῆρχον (*De virt.* 1, p. 314 = *Diod.* 36.11)

In many other instances, however, Photius has compressed his text so heavily (and abominably) that the resulting summary provides us with nothing more than a poor skeleton of what it had originally been like. The introduction to the Social War in Bk. 37 provides such an example *par excellence*, in which Photius' contraction of the original, as it seems, went so far as to obscure even the economy of Diodorus' narrative (p. 391a 30-b 11 = *Diod.* 37.2.1-3; compare *De sent.* pp. 393-397 and *De virt.* 1, pp. 315-319 = *Diod.* 37.1, 3-13).<sup>21</sup> Below is another example of this kind, parallel passages from Photius and *De insidiis* short enough to be quoted here:

ἀλλ' ὃ γε Καιπίων στρατηγεῖν καθ' Ὑριάθου αἰρεθεὶς τὰς τε συνθήκας ἠκύρωσε, καὶ πολλάκις Ὑριάθον ἐλαττώσας, εἴτα εἰς ἔσχατον ἥττης συνελάσας ὥστε καὶ πρὸς σπονδὰς ὄρᾱν, διὰ τῶν οἰκείων ἐδολοφόνησε (p. 384a 23-27 = *Diod.* 33.1.4)

Αὐδας καὶ Διτάλκης καὶ Νικορόντης ἐκ πόλεως Ὀρσωνος, οἰκεῖοι δὲ ἀλλήλων καὶ φίλοι, θεωροῦντες τὴν περὶ τὸν Ὑριάθον ὑπεροχὴν καταπονουμένην ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν δέισαντες, καταθέσθαι τινὰ χάριν τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις ἔκριναν, δι' ἧς ἑαυτοῖς περιποιήσασθαι τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ... ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὸν Ὑριάθον ἐπιθυμοῦντα καταλύσασθαι τὸν πόλεμον ἐπηγγείλαντο πείσειν Καιπίωνα συνθέσθαι τὴν εἰρήνην, ἐὰν αὐτοὺς ἀπολύσῃ πρεσβευτὰς περὶ διαλύσεων. προθύμως δὲ τοῦ δυνάστου συγχωρήσαντος, οὗτοι μὲν συντόμως παραγενόμενοι πρὸς τὸν Καιπίωνα ῥαδίως ἐπεισαν δοῦναί σφισιν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένοις δολοφονήσειν τὸν Ὑριάθον. δόντες οὖν καὶ λαβόντες περὶ τούτων πίστεις ταχέως ἐπανῆλθον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολήν: εἰπόντες δὲ πεπεικέναι τοὺς Ῥωμαίους περὶ τῆς εἰρήνης εἰς ἐλπίδας ἀγαθὰς ἤγαγον τὸν Ὑριάθον, σπεύδοντες τῆς ἀληθοῦς ἐννοίας ἀπαγαγεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν

<sup>21</sup> On the problems for reconstructing the original structure of the aetiology of the Social War from Photius and the *Excerpts*, see below, pp. 32f., and Chap. 4, pp. 95-99.



διάνοιαν ὡς πορρωτάτω. πιστευόμενοι δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν φιλίαν  
νυκτὸς ἔλαθον εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν παρεισελθόντες καὶ τοῖς ξίφεσι  
διαχρησάμενοι τὸν Ὑρίατθον πληγαῖς εὐκαίροις, ἐκ τῆς παρεμβολῆς  
ἐκπηδήσαντες παραχρῆμα διὰ τῆς ὀρεινῆς ἀνοδίας χρησάμενοι  
διεσώθησαν πρὸς Καιπίωνα (*De insid.* p. 206 = Diod. 33.21)

Yet we have still been rather fortunate in these instances, in that we do have an outside control - parallel pieces of the Constantinian *Excerpts* that enable us to carry out a comparison. However the rest of the material, which constitutes a major part of Photius' epitome, does not fall into this category. In some cases, it is true, we may well guess even without a control what Photius had done on the original text, from allusions to other parts of the *Bibliothèque*, its general chronological scope, Diodorus' style of narrative and so on. It may well be said, for example, that the sarcastic description of Eunos, a bogus fortuneteller-turned-slave king, and his charlatanry at his master's banquet (pp. 384b 10-385a 7 = Diod. 34/5.2.4-9), presents a comparatively detailed parallel to what Diodorus actually wrote, since a consequence of this latter anecdote is given by another fragment from the *Excerpts* (*De virt.* 1, p. 305 = Diod. 34/5.2.41). Likewise, although Photius is the only testimony for the largest part of Diodorus' account of the Second Sicilian Slave War (pp. 387b 3-390b 35 = Diod. 36.3-11), the hurried impression created by the language that he uses clearly suggests that Diodorus' original narrative was far more extensive and detailed; and the same can be said of his account of the Civil War between Sulla and the younger Marius (pp. 392b 33-393a 11 = Diod. 38/9.15; cp. *De sent.* p. 403 = Diod. 12-14). Phrases such as 'successful on many other occasions,' 'defeated in many battles' or 'winning many times' (e.g., p. 384a 14-30 = Diod. 33.1.3-4) are the most obvious signs of compression, to be found mainly in war narratives which presumably did not entertain the patriarch very much. Photius' habitual reduction of the original narrative into mere headings of major incidents would be best exemplified by the following instance, in which he has compressed later events of Bk. 35 into a mere single sentence:

ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἐν Ῥώμῃ, καθ' οὓς Μάριος μὲν τοὺς κατὰ  
Λιβύην βασιλεῖς Βόκχον καὶ Ἰουγούρθαν κατεπολέμησε μεγάλην  
παρατάξει, καὶ πολλὰς μὲν τῶν Λιβύων μυριάδας ἀνείλεν, ὕστερον δὲ



αὐτὸν Ἰουγούρθαν συλληφθέντα ὑπὸ Βόκχου, ὥστε τυχεῖν συγγνώμης παρὰ Ῥωμαίων ὑπὲρ ὧν αὐτοῖς κατέστη πρὸς πόλεμον, λαβὼν ἐκείθεν αἰχμάλωτον εἶχε, μεγίστοις δὲ πταίσμασι τοῖς κατὰ Γαλατίαν τῶν Κίμβρων πολεμούντων Ῥωμαῖοι περιπεσόντες ἠθύμουν, κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς χρόνους ἦκόν τινες ἀπὸ Σικελίας ἀπόστασιν ἀγγέλλοντες οἰκετῶν εἰς πολλὰς ἀριθμουμένων μυριάδας (p. 386b 12-22 = Diod. 36.1; cf. *De sent.* p. 392 = Diod. 34/5.37; *De leg.* pp. 407-408 = Diod. 34/5.39).

The Photian summary of the entire Social War (pp. 391b 11-392b 32 = Diod. 37.2.4-14) will also have been a product of sheer abbreviation of Diodorus' original. It is clearly indicated by his language which often crams several key events into a single sentence, and the fact that the Photian version of the narrative ignores *all* the individual incidents during the war preserved in the *Excerpts* (*De sent.* pp. 397-401 and *De virt.* 1, pp. 319-322 = Diod. 37.14-30) - although the precise extent to which his summary has reflected or neglected the original format and content of the narrative of the Social War is still subject to further consideration.<sup>22</sup> All in all, however, many of the Diodoran fragments in Photius not paralleled by the *Excerpts* have to remain virtually uncontrollable in terms of textual fidelity, all the more so when the episodes recounted are rather isolated incidents and/or unattested by other sources.<sup>23</sup>

There is nevertheless a glimmer of hope. As has been pointed out, Photius did at least as his general practice read and write with the original text at hand. Furthermore, following the peculiar art of *mimesis* of the time, he also imitated the very diction and style of the particular work being epitomised even when he was hastily summarising it.<sup>24</sup> That can be well confirmed by those passages referred to

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<sup>22</sup> The question concerning the original structure of Diodorus' account of the Social War, which, as it turns out, ultimately involves the *Quellenfrage* of the narrative, will be discussed in Chap. 4, pp. 95ff. Although Photius tells little about the First Mithridatic War in his epitome, he does mention an Italian envoy sent to Mithridates in the last stage of the Social War (p. 392a 28-36 = Diod. 37.2.11). It is an interesting fact that this reference, and another, preserved in the *Excerpts* (*De virt.* 1, p. 319 = Diod. 37.26), to the Mithridatic sympathisers among the Asiatic cities - two different traditions - curiously coincide in a fragment ascribed to Posidonius (F253 EK), the supposed chief source for Diodorus himself; see Chap. 4, p. 133.

<sup>23</sup> The following fragments will fall into this category: *Bibliotheca*, p. 379a 35-b 38 = Diod. 34/5.1 (siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus VII Sidetes); pp. 383b 38-384a 12 = Diod. 33.1.1-2 (career of Viriathus); p. 387a 9-b 2 (slave revolt in Campania); pp. 390b 36-391a 23 = Diod. 36.13 (visit of Rome by a priest of the Great Mother); p. 391a 24-28 = Diod. 36.14 (on the *imperator*); p. 381a 15-40 = Diod. 38/9.4 (death of Q. Lutatius Catulus); pp. 380a 7-381a 8 = Diod. 40.3 (Jewish ethnography).

<sup>24</sup> For the theory and practice of *mimesis* among the Byzantine literary circle, see Hunger (1978), vol. 2, p. 7. There may, of course, well be occasional exceptions to this general rule



above, for which we have parallels in the *Excerpts*. To take a few more examples: καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρμένων (p. 384b 3); διὰ τὸ φιλάνθρωπον αὐτῆς ἥθος ... οὐχὶ ὠμότης εἶναι φύσεως (p. 385 38-41); ἀρπαγὴν καὶ παρανομίαν ἐργαζόμενοι ... τῆς παρανόμου χειροκρασίας (p. 389a 39-b 3); δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὔξηθησαν, εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας (p. 391a 37f) - not only are all these words and phrases precisely paralleled in the corresponding yet more detailed version of the *Excerpts*, but also many of them are Diodorus' own favourite *topoi*.<sup>25</sup> It may reasonably be said, therefore, that even those Photian passages which do not allow us a comparative examination present a tolerable miniature of the contents, language and art of presentation that the Diodoran original had embraced, insofar as they contain more details than mere 'headlines' of events. It must at the same time be noted, however, that his summary by no means presents a faithful miniature of Diodorus' original narrative as a whole. Although the Photian material is much broader in its scope than the *Excerpts* and offers a fairly continuous narrative of each incident, it is still a partial summary after all - we will never know, for example, how extensively, and in what ways, Diodorus treated the Cimbric Wars or Pompey's Mithridatic campaigns in the East, since Photius virtually omitted these episodes altogether.

One may well also be tempted to ask whether Photius did not possibly insert his own compositions, comments and interpretations into his epitome of the *Bibliothēke*. The answer is a clear 'yes', but he did so in a way that is evident to any modern readers. He would, for example, at times add some introductory or transitional sentences just before or after the superscription of a summary: a bizarre prologue which introduces an equally bizarre anecdote in Diodorus' Bk. 32 (32.9d, 10.1) concerning the death of Alexander Balas (p. 377a 29-34); his criticism of Diodorus for having contrived calumnies about the Jews and for having 'imposed (them) upon other people', a transition which connects Diod. 34.1 and 40.3 (pp. 379a 39-380a 6); an analogy drawn between the accidental death of Emperor Jovian and

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of verbal imitation: Walton, (1967), p. 143 n. 2, for example, points out Photius' anachronistic use of the word λογάδες to mean Roman legionaries (p. 386b 27 = Diod. 36.1).

<sup>25</sup> The result obtained from *TLG* searches on these words/phrases has been discussed in various parts of this thesis; yet for the Diodoran lexicon in general, see Chap. 2, pp. 56-59.



the suicide of Q. Lutatius Catulus, the latter of which is reported in the Diodoran extracts from Bk. 38/9 that immediately follow the analogy (p. 380b 10-15). These are the obvious cases of interpolation by Photius himself, who nonetheless would not, fortunately to us, fuse his own addenda into the quotation or summary proper.

More troublesome and puzzling, on the other hand, is the closing section of his summary of 'Bks. 37, 38 and afterwards' (p. 393a 12-b 5). For Photius' narrative, following a Diodoran passage on the establishment of the Sullan dictatorship (38/9.15), further carries on with a cursory review of the whole course of the succeeding events: beginning from the Civil War between Caesar and Pompey, it passes through the dictatorship of Caesar, the Triumvirate and the creation of the Principate, and goes as far down as the death of Augustus in AD 14. This section is followed by a list of the Republican magistracies, which marks the end of the Codex 244. This additional material certainly falls outside the chronological scope of the *Bibliothèque*, and some of its contents even go well beyond the lifetime of our historian.<sup>26</sup> It is, on the other hand, highly improbable that this appendix was a product of Photius' literary indulgence. For he is not known to have meddled with other people's works, all the more so when his primary purpose was simply to epitomise their contents and literary styles, and not to show off his historical learning. Furthermore, a sentence which is unmistakably attributed to Diodorus himself (p. 393a. 33: οὗτος φησιν) speaks of 'the dignity of the *Illustres* (τὸ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων ἄξιωμα)', a sort of title which would come into use centuries after Diodorus' own time. All this may well suggest that the manuscript of the *Bibliothèque* had already been contaminated before it reached the ninth-century Byzantine Photius.<sup>27</sup> However,

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<sup>26</sup> Botteri (1983), pp. 673f., correctly points out that Diodorus' initial declaration in Bk. 1 on the scope of his work cannot be taken as the sole decisive evidence for its actual terminus; compare, for example, Polybius' preface (5.4) with the actual terminal point of his work. Yet the weight of internal and external evidence still strongly favours the view that his main narrative could not have gone much if at all beyond his promised terminal point, the year 60, i.e. the beginning of the Gallic War according to Diodorus (1.4.7; 5.1): on the dates of the composition and publication of the *Bibliothèque* see Chap. 6, note 106; the question of the terminal date of the work is exhaustively discussed by Zecchini (1978), pp. 16-20; Sacks (1990), pp. 169-203. For the life of Diodorus, see Sacks, *op. cit.*, p. 161; Spoerri (1991), p. 316-318.

<sup>27</sup> This part of Photius' summary is tacitly eliminated from Walton's *Loeb* edition of the *Bibliothèque*. The reason for the exclusion, as mentioned in Henry's *Budé* edition of Photius' *Bibl.*, vol. 6 (1971), pp. 172f. n. 2, is that 'il tombe en dehors de la période traitée par l'historien', although the editor of Diodorus refuses to identify the origin of this appendix. For



it is still open to question whether the modern editors of Diodorus were reasonable when they opted to disregard as a later interpolation the whole section that follows ‘μετὰ μέντοι τὴν τούτων ἀπαλλαγὴν Πομπηΐω τῷ ἐπικληθέντι Μάγνῳ ... τούτῳ δὴ καὶ Ἰουλίῳ Καίσαρι ἔρις ἑκαεῖσα εἰς ἐμφυλίους σφαγὰς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πάλιν ἠνάγκασε συστραφῆναι’. Although Diodorus’ narrative proper almost certainly ended with the beginning of the Gallic War in 60, most events in this appendix took place well before the publication of the *Bibliothēke*. In fact, a Diodoran excursus refers to an incident in 36 BC, when Caesar Octavian replaced the Greek town of Tauromenium with a Roman colony in the aftermath of his campaigns against Sextus Pompey (16.7.1).<sup>28</sup> On many other occasions, Diodorus steps over the chronological boundary of his work, as is shown in his repeated references to Julius Caesar that include his invasion of Britain (3.38.2-3; 5.21.2; 5.22.1), bridging of the Rhine (5.25.4), capture of the Celtic town Alesia (4.19.2) and restoration of Corinth (32.27.1-3).<sup>29</sup> Our historian, therefore, could have attached at the ‘formal’ terminal point of his narrative a similar excursus looking forward to the subsequent course of events, an excursus not greatly different from what we see now in the earlier part of the Photian ‘appendix’. This is merely a possibility, yet it will caution against casual deletion of this problematic part of Photius’ text.

For all its shortcomings, then, where does the chief merit of Photius’ epitome of Diodorus lie? It has handed down to the present day a good number of remnants of his Bks. 33-40 which others have not, such as the bulk of the narrative of the Second Sicilian Slave War. This alone without doubt counts as a remarkable contribution to the modern scholarship of the *Bibliothēke*. However, the significance of the Photian material, its compressed nature notwithstanding, lies above all in the fact that, where

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the history of the ‘arbitrary’ treatment of these puzzling passages in the past editions of Diodorus, see Botteri (1983), pp. 665-673. In Athenaeus’ quotation of Diodorus (12.541F), the original εἰς τροφήν is altered by εἰς τὴν τροφήν; from this fact Zecchini (1987), pp. 49f., points out that a vulgate edition of the *Bibliothēke* was already in circulation by the time of Athenaeus.

<sup>28</sup> This is the latest datable event in the extant material of the *Bibliothēke*. The once much-debated dating of Octavian’s establishment of a Roman colony at Tauromenium is now settled at 36, not 21 BC: see Zecchini (1978), p. 20 (and n. 27); Botteri (1983), p. 665; Rubincam (1985), pp. 521f.; Sacks (1990), pp. 168 and 194f.; Spoerri (1991), pp. 318.

<sup>29</sup> For the Diodoran passages relevant to the dates of the composition of the *Bibliothēke*, see Rubincam (1987), pp. 322f. (Fig. 3).

the Constantinian *Excerpts* have left us with detailed but highly fragmentary information of the lost Diodoran narrative, Photius often supplies its broader context which the excerptors tore apart altogether. In many cases if not most (see below), the Constantinian fragments will thus find in Photius' summary the proper contexts to which they originally belonged: this is particularly notable in the account of the First Sicilian Slave War.<sup>30</sup> Unlike the Constantinian excerptors Photius was not compiling a textbook for a political leader or a military commander. With only an occasional taste for the Christian point of view, Photius' concern for secular works was virtually confined to their stylistic and philological aspects, in stark contrast to the moralising and utilitarian *Excerpts*.<sup>31</sup> Hence his choice of items for inclusion is neither discriminatory nor eclectic. It is this flexible nature of the selection process that, for the period concerned, has not only saved a broader range of Diodoran material from perishing than the *Excerpts* have, but has also helped Diodorus' narrative to keep its unity as a work of history, rather than to appear simply as a row of moral *sententiae*.

## 2. THE ARRANGEMENT

The two groups of Diodoran extracts - Codex 244 of Photius' *Bibliotheca* and the four extant sections of the Constantinian *Excerpts* - have constituted the core not only for recovering part of the lost text from Bks. 33-40, but also for reconstructing the economy of these books. For the latter purpose, the very order of the Diodoran passages in each Byzantine collection has been all but the sole guide, since the process of recovering the original structure of the Diodoran narrative is based on the assumption that the way each group of the fragments is arranged within the respective Byzantine work more or less reflects that of the original. Whereas this general premise seems to stand on the whole, it does not necessarily eliminate all the problems that arise from the reconstruction process. In this section I shall briefly present what problems one faces when one attempts to cut, paste and combine the two groups of extracts to build up as faithful a reproduction as possible of Diodorus' original narrative.

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<sup>30</sup> See Malitz (1983), pp. 40-41 and 144.

<sup>31</sup> Hunger (1978), vol. 2, p. 8; Lemerle (1986), pp. 225-227.



The organisation of the Diodoran material in the *Excerpts* is simple and straightforward overall. In each section, all the passages from a single author, Diodorus included, are lumped together following a headline (Ἐκ τῆς ἱστορίας Διοδώρου Σικελιώτου), with only a few rare exceptions such as *De leg.* p. 80 (= Diod. 31.15.2-3), where one passage from Bk. 31 is singled out and isolated from the main bulk of Diodoran extracts which comes after p. 396 of the same section. A comparison between the *Excerpts* and the complete text of Diodorus, where it is possible, also illustrates a predictable yet important aspect of the excerptors' arrangement of the material: they simply extracted passages in the same order as they had appeared in the original narrative, proceeding from one book to another in their original sequence. Thus the internal order of the extracted passages within a single section of the *Excerpts* reflects not only the sequence of the narrative within a Diodoran book but also that of the whole work. Despite this grand premise, however, it is not necessarily an easy matter, and at times desperately difficult, for modern editors to conflate various passages from all the four sections of the *Excerpts* in order to reconstruct the lost narrative of the *Bibliothèque*. For the Constantinian editors failed to indicate original book numbers for any of their extracts but one (*De sent.* p. 339), in addition to which many of those excerpts are very short, with no explanations given to their original contexts. One would, for example, hardly be able to tell plausibly from which book of the *Bibliothèque*, and from what context, three or four lines of a moralising dictum in *De virtutibus et vitiis* originated.

Photius, on the other hand, clearly operated in a different way. Unlike the *Excerpts* he indicates book numbers in the form of a superscript that precedes the beginning of each section, and in his Codex 244 books of the *Bibliothèque* appear in the order of 32, 34, 40, 38, 31, 32, 34, 36, 37 and 38 (note that Bks. 32 and 38 are represented twice).<sup>32</sup> This arrangement of Diodoran books is patently at random, with

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<sup>32</sup> There is, however, one point to make on an original division of Diodoran books. The last passage of the Photian summary of Bk. 32 (pp. 383b 38-384a 30) is transplanted into the beginning of Bk. 33 in the Loeb edition of the *Bibliothèque* (33.1.1-4). The editor's division, based on Dindorf's earlier model, may sound convincing in a contextual light; see Walton, (1957), pp. 456-458 n. 2, and (1967), p. 3 n. 1. But is this portion of the Diodoran text really from Bk. 33? Bk. 33 is neither mentioned in the current passages nor, more significantly, enumerated in the opening of Codex 244; cf. Henry, vol. 6 (1971), pp. 147-148 n. 2. Note also that this particular extract occupies only thirty-four lines, while Photius' summaries of



the only exception being the transition from Bk. 34 to Bk. 40, which shows at best thematic, if not contextual, connexion, i.e., the Jews. We may easily assume that this rather arbitrary ordering reflects the chronology according to which Photius carried on his reading of Diodorus (cf. *Ep. ad Taras.* 8f.: Οὕτω δὲ τάξεως αἱ ὑποθέσεις ἐπιλήψονται, ὥς ἂν ἐκάστην αὐτῶν ἡ μνήμη προβάλοι ...). This assumption will be further reinforced by the fact that the historian is dealt with in two separate codices, and that the language of the earlier Codex 70 indicates that at the point of the writing of this codex Photius is likely to have read no more than Diodorus' first *Prooemium*.<sup>33</sup> This unsystematic nature of Photius' arrangement has predictably resulted in obscuring the original context of some of the Diodoran passages. We have an example of this sort in a comment on the Roman title *imperator* (pp. 391a 24-28 = Diod. 36.14). This sentence appears so abruptly that it is almost impossible to recover the context to which it originally belonged, and it is even uncertain whether it really derives from Diodorus at all.<sup>34</sup>

A more serious question, however, emerges when Photius' précis is set against Diodorus' known principle of organising his material - annual division of events in their proper chronological order, or an 'annalistic' framework - since Photius habitually recounts each single episode continuously without a break even when the incident in fact stretched over a few years. This is particularly noticeable in his epitome of the two Sicilian Slave Wars and the Social War. For example, Photius presents the First Sicilian Slave War in continuous narrative from its outbreak until the end in 132 BC (pp. 384a 31-386b 10 = Diod. 34/5.2.1-24). However, in the *Excerpts* the extracts from the Diodoran account of the same war are indeed interrupted by those that refer to key incidents in 133, a year before the end of the war: the cruel rule of Attalus III of Pergamon, a passage that probably relates to his death, the fall of Numantia, and Ti. Gracchus' turbulent tribunate (*De virt.* 1, pp.

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the other seven books usually stretch over several paragraphs. It is therefore hard to believe that the patriarch, with his customary carelessness, or a later copyist, omitted a proper book number. A more reasonable conjecture would be, I think, that either this extract did actually derive from Bk. 32, or, more likely, the manuscript at Photius' disposal had already been confused, as we have observed in another instance.

<sup>33</sup> See above, p. 18; Sacks (1990), p. 164 n. 17; Lemerle (1986), pp. 222-223.

<sup>34</sup> Despite the suggestion by Walton, (1967), pp. 178-179 n. 1, that this passage refers to the victory of M'. Aquillius over the rebellious slaves in Sicily in 100.



305f. = Diod. 34/5.3; 5; *De sent.* pp. 385-387 = Diod. 34/5.4; 6-7; 9). Since the arrangement of the passages in the *Excerpts* almost always mirrors that of their sources (see above), there is little doubt that all these episodes also appeared in the same order in Diodorus' original narrative, and that his account of the Slave War was not continuous throughout as it is presented by Photius. On the other hand, this single 'hiatus' in the narrative of 133 does not necessarily prove that Diodorus, as his normal practice, followed a strictly 'annalistic' arrangement of events for the whole course of the war, letting his account be divided and interwoven into other events year by year - especially if he had found in his source a less rigorously chronological scheme than his own.<sup>35</sup> The question of the extent to which our historian stuck to his chronological paradigm in the account of the First Slave War is yet to be fully answered, if indeed it ever will be.

Reconstruction of the economy of the narrative of the Social War, by coordinating the Photian and Constantinian material, turns out to be an even more complex process. Having heavily abbreviated Diodorus' notorious proem to Bk. 37, which emulates Thucydides (p. 391a 30-34 = Diod. 37.2.1; cf. 37.1), Photius then cursorily explains the causal process that led to the outbreak of the war: Rome's degeneration into luxury, the class struggle between the Senate and the plebeians, and the revolt of the Italians after the Senate refused to keep the promise to grant them the Roman citizenship. This is immediately followed by Diodorus' standard chronological marker - the names of the annual consuls and the Olympic year at the time of the outbreak of the war - which leads straight to the war narrative proper (pp. 391a 35-391b 5 = Diod. 37.2). This again, like Photius' summaries of the Slave Wars, gives an impression that Diodorus' original account of the Social War cannot have been anything other than continuous. However, the corresponding passages in the *Excerpts* show that between Diodorus' proem to Bk. 37 and the narrative of the Social War in fact lay a long excursus on Rome's gradual fall from its early practice of frugality after a long period of peace, a lengthy description of how, against this degenerate tendency, a handful of Roman magistrates righteously exercised their

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<sup>35</sup> See, for example, the synchronisation of the outbreak of the slave revolt and the war with Aristonicus of Pergamon (*De virt.* 1, p. 302 = Diod. 34/5.2.26), which would be plainly wrong in a strictly chronological sense; see Chap. 5, p. 152f.

power in provincial administration (*De virt.* 1, pp. 315-318; *De sent.* pp. 394-395; ?*De insid.* pp. 208f. = Diod. 37.3-8), and an account of the key incident in Roman internal politics of the year 91 - Livius Drusus' abortive reform programmes (*De virt.* 1, p. 318; *De sent.* pp. 395f. = Diod. 37.9-11). This discrepancy between Photius and the Constantinian *Excerpts* poses a few critical problems on the economy of Diodorus' original narrative. Are the Photian passages from the proem to the chronological marker a simple abbreviation of all that is detailed at considerable length in the *Excerpts*? Yet the Constantinian passages are already too long (note that Diodorus' original was even longer), and too diverse in content, to fit into a mere introduction: our historian is not known to have written such a long, complex proem in other cases. Or did Photius, generally faithful to the internal order of an original narrative, in this case rearrange the structure of that of Diodorus by summarising part of the main narrative, preserved in the *Excerpts*, and inserting it into the introduction? Or do the two groups of extracts, despite the apparent parallelism between them, in fact come from two altogether different parts of Bk. 37?

The impression that Diodorus' Bk. 37 presented a seamless narrative of the Social War is again given at the end of the long Photian excerpt. For Photius, having summarily recounted the Italian resistance during the Civil Wars as far down as the battle of the Colline Gate in 82 (pp. 391a 42-392b 32 = Diod. 37.2.12-2.14), concludes his extract with a 'postscript' that corresponds to the proem in its emphasis on the greatness of the war (καὶ οὕτω τέλεον τῇ ἐμφυλίῳ συναπέσβη στάσει μέγιστος γεγονὼς καὶ ὁ Μαρσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος). Thus it looks at first glance as though this part of the extract is a gross abbreviation by Photius of the whole narrative of the Civil Wars between 88-82, which in Diodorus' original text occupied much of the subsequent Bk. 38. Were that to be the case, however, how would we explain the above postscript which makes the end of the Social War coincide with that of the Civil Wars in 82? The Constantinian *Excerpts* in fact show that between the narrative of the Social War and the year 82 lay a full narrative of all the other contemporary events; it would be patently impossible, therefore, for the historian to add such an epilogue to the Social War after all that. Furthermore Photius, immediately after this epilogue, again recounts the conflict between Sulla and



the younger Marius in 82, thus repeating, in effect, the same course of events twice (pp. 392b 33-393a 11 = Diod. 38/9.15). All these signs that emanate from the Photian extract make it extremely difficult to contemplate a rigorously chronological treatment of events in Diodorus' original narrative, except in the unlikeliest case that it was Photius himself who re-organised the whole material from an originally annalistic framework into one κατὰ γένος. Since these problems ultimately involve not only the structure of Diodorus' original narrative but also the question of his source, they will be more closely examined and some solutions offered in the following chapters.<sup>36</sup>

Despite these difficulties of organisation, however, modern editors have generally seen the Photian summaries and the Constantinian fragments as pieces of the same mosaic in their attempts to reconstruct the lost Diodoran narrative. The end result of their attempts has been like an incomplete jigsaw. That is, you have a Photian paper board laying out the bare outline of the whole picture, and try to slot each Constantinian piece with more vivid yet partial details into its seemingly proper position on the board. For the most part, this process seems to have worked well.<sup>37</sup> What if, however, there turn out to be more Constantinian pieces than the Photian board can accommodate? What if there is actually no place for a piece on the board? What if you thought you had successfully joined two pieces which in fact do not quite fit with each other? And what if the board indeed turns out not to present even a

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<sup>36</sup> For the structure of the narrative on the aetiology of the Social War, see Chap. 4, pp. 94ff.; on Diodorus' accounts of the Social and Civil Wars and the terminal point of Posidonius' *Histories*, Chap. 4, pp. 99ff. and Chap. 6, p. 191. Cf. also Walton, (1967), p. 87 n. 3, who argues that Diodorus' account of the First Slave War was annalistic; *contra* Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 206f., who proposed that not only the account of the First Slave War, but also those of the Second Slave War and the Social War constituted non-annalistic, continuous narratives, reflecting the 'higher chronology' of Diodorus' source, that is Posidonius. This is shown, according to Jacoby, by Diodorus' introductions to the latter two episodes (36.1; 37.1), which could not be written for an annalistic work.

<sup>37</sup> Jacoby's parallel arrangement of the two groups of the fragments from the narrative of the First Slave War (F108 *FGH Anhang*) is a good example of this 'jigsaw building'. It would, however, directly contradict the 'dual hypothesis' by Rizzo (1976), were it to be proved, since the latter claims that there were in fact two separate Diodoran accounts of the same slave wars, reflecting Diodorus' failure to juxtapose the two different sources he used - and, according to Rizzo, everything that Photius extracted came from Bk. 34 which accommodated only one of the two accounts, while all the material preserved in the *Excerpts* derived from the other in Bk. 35. For my criticism of this imaginative yet unsustainable argument, see Chap. 4, note 86.

precise image of the original landscape? One can never know the full answers to these questions until the jigsaw is complete.



## CHAPTER II

# Posidonian *Quellenkritik*

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**T**he modern study of late-Hellenistic historiography has long been dominated by the Stoic philosopher and great polymath of the early first century BC, Posidonius of Apamea, and the universal history he wrote, known under the general title of the *Histories*. This unique piece of historical work, unique in that it was written by a professional philosopher, covered, as a continuation of Polybius, the period after 146/5 BC in fifty-two books. It was apparently an immediate success; in the longer term, however, it failed to outlive his other philosophical works and, as it seems, was forgotten by late antiquity. We now have some one hundred fragments of a historical or geographical nature attributed to Posidonius by name, preserved mainly in Athenaeus, Strabo and Plutarch. However, many of these fragments are so deprived of their original contexts, and plainly so short, that it is not even certain if they all really go back to the *Histories*. Apart from those explicit citations, scholars have also pointed out, with greatly varying degrees of conviction, possible influences - or simply unacknowledged use - of Posidonius in passages of Strabo, Plutarch, Appian, Dio, Livy, Sallust, Caesar, and perhaps any other historian one could name. And at the top of this long list of 'free users' always comes Diodorus Siculus.<sup>1</sup>

Since extensive correspondences began to be recognised between various passages of the *Bibliothèque* and the extant fragments of Posidonius' *Histories* in the nineteenth century, it has seldom if ever been disputed that Diodorus made use of Posidonius as his main source for the period after 146/5 BC (i.e. from Bk. 33), when he found himself no longer able to rely on Polybius, his principal source up to that time. There are, as we shall see, more than enough indications of the philosopher's influence in Diodorus' Bk. 5 and Bks. 33-37 in particular - and probably the earlier

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<sup>1</sup> Since almost any modern studies in Posidonius and/or Diodorus at least acknowledge that Diodorus did use the *Histories* - to whatever extent - I shall limit myself to referring to the bibliographies in Strasburger (1965), p. 42 n. 28; Desideri (1972), p. 481, n. 1; Càssola (1982), p. 764 n. 103. For a heretical view, see Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979).

parts of Bk. 38 too - to confirm this basic hypothesis. The question among scholars therefore has never been whether or not Diodorus used Posidonius, but rather how, and to what extent. As it turns out, this latter question is much more elusive, particularly for the historical period treated in Bk. 33 onwards, which was also the main focus of Posidonius' work. Unlike the ethnographic accounts in Bk. 5, also believed to be based on Posidonius, where Diodorus' own text is complete and where we also have reasonably sufficient controls on Posidonius from other sources, both the attested and supposedly verbatim (at best) quotations from Posidonius outside the *Bibliothèque*, and the *Bibliothèque* itself for this period, are highly fragmentary, showing between them only a handful of verbally parallel passages.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, nowhere at all in the surviving portions of the *Bibliothèque* does our historian acknowledge his literary debt to the philosopher. Hence the criteria for culling 'Posidonian fragments' from the bulk of the *Bibliothèque* have been left entirely to the preference of individual editors of Posidonius. As it turns out, such criteria have tended to vary from one editor to another, and indeed to go from one extreme to another: compare on the one hand the 'minimalist' collection by Edelstein and Kidd (1989<sup>2</sup>), which prints no single Diodoran passage at all, and on the other Theiler's generous if not extravagant choice of Diodoran material for inclusion in his edition of Posidonius (1982).<sup>3</sup>

Thanks partly to the scholarly uncertainty of where to draw a line between 'fragments' in the proper sense of the word and unattributed traditions in secondary sources such as Diodorus, and partly to the growing number of fruitful attempts to assess Diodorus' work in its own right, recent decades have seen a relative decline in the once-intensive 'Posidonius-hunting' in the *Bibliothèque*. Yet the question of *Quellenforschung*, however controversial it may often turn out to be, still matters to any study of Diodorus, not least when its aim is to observe and analyse our historian's choice, arrangement and presentation of his material - that is, his historiographical method. This being precisely part of my research, I shall present in this chapter an

<sup>2</sup> For Posidonius' ethnographies, see below. These parallels include: F58 EK and Diod. 33.28b; F59 EK and Diod. 34/5.2.34; F253 I.84ff. EK and Diod. 37.26 (though the Diodoran echo of Posidonius here appears from a different context).

<sup>3</sup> Kidd does, however, in various parts of his *Comm.*, acknowledge the existence of Posidonian elements in Diodorus: 1.284; 1.292-293; 1.294-295; 1.308-309; 2.832ff; 2.837ff; 2.905 (cautiously); 2.917-918; 2.938; 2.949; see also *id.* (1989), p. 38; Bringmann (1986), p.32 n.6.



overall review of the philological devices which have in the past been employed for identifying Posidonian traces in derivatory traditions and, as the ultimate goal of such source criticism, for reconstructing the *Histories* and Posidonius' philosophy of history. For my general purpose, this survey will be concentrated on comparisons between Diodorus' work and attested fragments of Posidonius, yet I will attempt not only to recognise the direct influence of Posidonius' work on Diodorus, i.e., our historian's use of the *Histories* themselves, but also to detect possible intrusion of the philosopher's thoughts, method and style into the *Bibliothēke* in general. Since the topics on Roman history in Diodorus' Bks. 33-40 will be dealt with in detail in the following chapters, I have here chosen material for case studies from those fragments which, despite their importance, have fallen outside the scope of the main part of my research, notably the 'Posidonian' ethnographies in Bk. 5 and the accounts of eastern affairs in Bks. 33-34/5.

The following sections present both those philological criteria which have regularly been employed in Posidonian *Quellenforschung* into material believed to have derived from him and general problems arising from them. Needless to say, the following classification of criteria is largely for the sake of convenience, and two or more of them may well overlap in a single passage.

## 1. VERBAL PARALLELISM

Solid evidence for Diodorus' use of Posidonius' historical work, reassuring even for the most sceptical of researchers, emerges from those limited number of cases in which passages in the *Bibliothēke* and fragments attributed to Posidonius by name show word-for-word concordance. The Posidonian fragment preserved in Athenaeus (4.153C-D = F53 EK) and a passage in Diodorus (5.40.3) on the banquet customs of the Etruscans present such close parallelism to each other:

παρὰ δὲ Τυρρηνοῖς δις τῆς ἡμέρας τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζονται  
 ἄνθιναι τε στρωμαὶ καὶ ἐκπώματα ἀργυρᾶ παντοδαπά, καὶ δούλων  
 πλῆθος εὐπρεπῶν παρέστηκεν ἐσθήσεσι πολυτελεῖσι κεκοσμημένων (Athen.)

παρατίθενται γὰρ δις τῆς ἡμέρας τραπέζας πολυτελεῖς καὶ τᾶλλα τὰ πρὸς  
 τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τρυφὴν οἰκεία, στρωμαὶ μὲν ἄνθινὰς

κατασκευάζοντες, ἐκπωμάτων δ' ἀργυρῶν παντοδαπῶν πλῆθος καὶ τῶν διακονούντων οἰκετῶν οὐκ ὀλίγον ἀριθμὸν ἤτοιμακότες (Diod.)

In the above example, most of the phrases in the Posidonian fragment are simply repeated by Diodorus, with only a handful of phrases altered or added.<sup>4</sup> Similar parallel passages can also be found among the accounts on Spanish metal-mining in Strabo (3.2.9 = F239 EK) and in Athenaeus (6.233D-E = F240a EK), both attributed to Posidonius by name, and in Diodorus (5.35-8), who names no authority.<sup>5</sup> In various parts the three versions offer striking verbal correspondences:

τοῖς μὲν χαλκουργοῖς τέταρτον μέρος ἐξάγουσι τῆς γῆς τὸν τῶν δὲ ἀργυρευόντων τισὶ ἰδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκὸν τάλαντον ἐξαίρουσι (Str. *loc. cit.*)

οἱ μὲν ἐργαζόμενοι τὰ χαλκουργεῖα τὸ τέταρτον μέρος ... τῶν δ' ἀργυρευόντων τινὲς ἰδιωτῶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις Εὐβοϊκὸν ἐξαίρουσι τάλαντον (Diod. 5.36.2)

ὅσα μὲν γὰρ ἀνέλαβον ... οὐκ ἔλαβον, ὅσα δὲ εἶχον, ἀπέβαλον (Str. *loc. cit.*)

... ἃ μὲν ἔμελλον οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἃ δ' εἶχον ἀπέβαλον ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον ἀτυχοῦντες (Athen. 233E)

... ἃ μὲν ἤλπισαν ἐνίοτε λαβεῖν οὐκ ἔλαβον, ἃ δ' εἶχον ἀπέβαλον, ὥστε δοκεῖν αὐτοὺς ὥσπερ αἰνίγματος τρόπον ἀτυχεῖν (Diod. 5.37.1)<sup>6</sup>

τὸν δὲ καττίτερον οὐκ <ἐξ> ἐπιπολῆς εὐρίσκεισθαι ... ὥς τοὺς ἱστορικοὺς θρυλεῖν, ἀλλ' ὀρύττεσθαι (Str. *loc. cit.*)

<sup>4</sup> FGH prints this Diodoran passage as F119 *Anhang*; even the most cautious Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.283-284, admits that 'this is firm evidence that Diodorus used Posidonius for Bk. 5', adding that 'as usual Diodorus repeats a number of phrases, but he also expands in his own fashion and is less succinct.' Alteration involves Diodorus' use of οἰκετῶν where Athenaeus has δούλων. The most curious difference is the presence of the phrase 'πρὸς τὴν ὑπερβάλλουσαν τρυφὴν' only in Diodorus' version. τρυφή may well at first strike as a typically Posidonian topos, yet the word is in fact also one of the moral commonplaces in the whole of the *Bibliothēke* (see below, p. 57). Thus the difference is due either to Athenaeus' omission of the Posidonian original or to Diodorus' own addition, and arguments can develop in both directions.

<sup>5</sup> The Diodoran passage is nevertheless included in FGH as F117 *Anhang* of Posidonius. Diodorus' ethnography of the Celtiberians on the whole (5.33-38) has been thought to derive either from Posidonius' account of the Numantine War or from a general account of Celtiberia in the *Histories* (cf. Strabo, 3.4.13 = F271 EK); see Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.922, and Malitz (1983), p. 120.

<sup>6</sup> A Homeric riddle (*Hom. Vita Herod.* 35) which Posidonius quoted, as Athenaeus alone attests (233E), from Demetrius of Phalerum; see also Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.834 and 838.



Γίνεται δὲ καὶ καττίτερος ... οὐκ ἐξ ἐπιπολῆς εύρισκόμενος, ὡς ἐν ταῖς ἱστορίαις τινὲς τεθρυλήκασιν, ἀλλ' ὀρυττόμενος ... (Diod. 5.38.4)

Athenaeus' version is the most succinct, while Diodorus' is the most detailed, though at one point Athenaeus gives a Posidonian quotation from Demetrius of Phalerum, which Diodorus altogether failed to record and of which Strabo distorted the ethical context in Posidonius' original: 'greed hopes to bring up from the innermost of the earth Pluto himself (ἐλπίζούσης τῆς πλεονεξίας ἀνάξειν ἐκ τῶν μυχῶν τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν τὸν Πλούτωνα)' (Athen. 233E). Diodorus and Strabo on their part share a few common topics neglected by Athenaeus, such as the wondrous story about melted silver surfacing on burned land, the stark contrast between the abundance of the Spanish mines and the pathetic conditions of Laurium, or the use of the so-called Egyptian screw. A comparison of the three versions on the whole shows that, despite those linguistic and thematic parallelisms, they demonstrate fairly divergent deployment of their material, each using his Posidonian source for his own purpose - which in this and many other instances has all the more contributed to obscuring the economy, contexts and very aims of the philosopher's original narrative.

As for Diodorus' treatment of his source, the contrast with that of Strabo is particularly revealing. The Diodoran account is rather more humdrum, omitting the literary flavour of the Posidonian rhetoric such as 'truly in the land below dwells not Hades, but Pluto' (Str. *loc. cit.*). Yet as a whole his version, as in other cases where he, Strabo and Athenaeus offer parallel passages, is much more detailed, leaving the possibility that our historian himself swelled his account by adding those details. Were that to be the case, it would be curious, given that the scope of his *Bibliothēke* - the whole of human history since the mythical period in forty books - must on the whole have forced him radically to reduce the contents of his Posidonian source, which treated less than seven decades in fifty-two books. Like Strabo, Diodorus was also writing ethnography only for its own sake, and neglected the general ethical problems concerning precious metals which Posidonius certainly propounded in his original. However, in Diodorus we find instead moral attacks specifically directed at the Carthaginians and the Italians, especially at the latter for their greed and excessive abuse of slaves in the mines they run (5.36.3-4, 38.1-3). This is very interesting, since

these passages are not in Strabo's quotation of Posidonius. According to Strabo, Posidonius simply said that 'these places...are everlasting treasures of nature, or an unfailing treasury of empire (τοὺς τόπους θησαυροὺς εἶναι φύσεως ἀενάους ἢ ταμιεῖον ἡγεμονίας ἀνέκλειπτον)'. On the other hand Diodorus, as if to exemplify this general statement in Strabo with historical examples, recounts later on how the Carthaginians exploited their Spanish mines to sustain the growth of their empire, adding at the end another prickly remark on Italian traders: 'for...the rôle of the Phoenicians from ancient times was to make discoveries to their gain, and of those from Italy to leave nothing behind for anybody else (ὑπῆρξαν οἱ Φοῖνικες ἐκ παλαιῶν χρόνων εἰς τὸ κέρδος εὐρεῖν, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τῆς Ἰταλίας εἰς τὸ μηδὲν μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλω καταλιπεῖν)' (5.35.4-5, 38.2-3). In the *Bibliothèque* the attitude towards the Italians and the Romans is often mixed - probably even confused - and the ultimate authorship of the above passages refuses an easy identification. It may be that Strabo simply skipped over all these criticisms in his Posidonian citation - although it seems that the topics covered by Diodorus, had they been already in Posidonius, would have greatly interested Strabo too, since he is ever fond of dotting his geographic descriptions with historical digressions. It must also be noted that in the attested tradition Posidonius is rather favourably disposed towards the Italians, and thus Diodorus, as it seems, stands as good a chance of being responsible himself for these criticisms.<sup>7</sup>

## 2. PARAPHRASE OR THEMATIC AFFINITIES

Even in the above examples we have observed, in which the respective authors clearly quoted Posidonius (almost) verbatim at one point, strong doubt remains about whether they did so at another. When supposed 'Posidonian quotations' in Strabo and Athenaeus, and seemingly parallel passages in Diodorus, show no clear analogy in language, but only share common elements in content, it becomes even more difficult

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<sup>7</sup> For a close analysis of this passage in the context of Diodorus' account of the Social War, see Chap. 4, pp. 130f. Strasburger (1965) p. 47, and Malitz (1983), pp. 106ff. (n. 89 and n. 98), attribute the above paragraphs altogether to Posidonius, neither explaining why the criticisms of the Carthaginians and the Italians are absent in Strabo nor suspecting a possible Diodoran intrusion. Sacks (1990), pp. 153 and 211, on the other hand, is more inclined to take the latter possibility, yet somewhat mixes up 'Rome' and 'the Italians'.



to assess how far each of the authors remained faithful to what the philosopher actually wrote, or departed from it. Such complexity is particularly exemplified in various secondary traditions that are believed to have originated from Posidonius' ethnographic accounts.

One of the two Posidonian fragments in Strabo on the life of the Ligurians, which curtly speaks of the people as ploughing rough land, 'or rather, as Posidonius says, quarrying stones (τραχεῖαν γῆν ἀρουῖντες καὶ σκάπτοντες, μᾶλλον δὲ λατομοῦντες, ὥς φησι Ποσειδώνιος)' (Str. 5.2.1 = F268 EK), is echoed in Bk. 5 of the *Bibliothēke* (5.39.2). This single phrase alone however is too scant as evidence for Diodorus having used a now-lost Ligurian ethnography of Posidonius for the whole of his account of Liguria (5.39). Even if that were the case, the Diodoran version would hardly be a genuine reproduction of Posidonius, since it virtually flattened the pithy metaphor Posidonius employed for describing the Ligurian cultivation: 'those who work on the land for the larger part quarry rocks thanks to its extreme roughness (οἱ δὲ τὴν γῆν ἐργαζόμενοι τὸ πλεόν πέτρας λατομοῦσι διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τραχύτητος).'<sup>8</sup> For the other fragment in Strabo (3.4.17 = F269 EK), we again find a paraphrase in Diodorus (4.20.2-3): both recount an anecdote about a pregnant Ligurian woman who, while digging ditches, gave birth to her child but continued her work until noticed. The analogy, however, stops there. The way of presenting this material is rather different between the two. Posidonius cites his Massilian host as the source of the story, on which Diodorus remains silent. The Diodoran version, as in other cases, is more detailed, and is recounted in altogether different language. Whereas the immediately preceding section in Diodorus (4.20.1-2), which emphasises the vigour and lack of luxury (τῆς γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τρυφὴν ῥαστώνης πολὺ κεχωρισμένοι) among the Ligurians, may well have a particular ring of Posidonian ethics, this too proves to be a standard topos that can be found throughout the *Bibliothēke* (see below). Furthermore, this sort of anecdote seems to have been in general circulation, through which channel, or through such a specific intermediary as

<sup>8</sup> Jacoby, by printing Diod. 5.39 as F118 Anhang *FGH*, apparently endorsed the Posidonian provenance of the whole account; this view is also supported by Malitz (1983), pp. 174f. On Diodorus' expansion of the Posidonian joke in the direction of literalism, see Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.917: 'Diodorus had no sense of humour.'

Timaeus, Diodorus could easily have been acquainted with the story.<sup>9</sup> On the other hand, Strabo's quotation of Posidonius and Diodorus' corresponding account remain by far the most extensive of the ancient traditions on the anecdote, and show the closest affinities to each other. Moreover, while Ps.-Aristotle and others speak of the case as a common occurrence among Ligurian women, both Diodorus and Posidonius report it as an single incident. Thus the best chance is that Posidonius was trying to confirm a well-known anecdote by an actual eye-witness, his Massilian friend, and Diodorus, in turn, did indeed use and freely rephrase it to his own liking.

There is much more evidence for the famous Celtic ethnography Posidonius treated in Bk. 23 of his *Histories*, and the problems arising from it are correspondingly greater. The attested fragment in Strabo (4.4.5 = F274 EK), for example, is paraphrased in Diodorus too (5.29.4-5), sharing with it much the same information, in much the same organisation, such as the Celtic custom of exhibiting distinguished enemies' heads to strangers, and their boast of refusal to ransom them for an equal weight of gold. Athenaeus' quotations from the same Posidonian ethnography (4.151E-152 and 4.154A-C = FF67; 68 EK), on the other hand, show less striking affinity with Diodorus, yet still have a few items in common with the latter in regard to the Celtic feasts: for example, their trade in wine with Italians (cp. Diod. 5.26.3) and duels during feasts (cp. Diod. 5.28.5f.). Both also correctly speak of the rôle of the Bards among the Gauls (Athen. 6.246D = F69 EK; Diod. 5.31.2).

Between Strabo and Diodorus, furthermore, even beyond those passages specifically attributed to Posidonius, there are several other common details, which range from such trivia as the tall stature of the Gauls (Diod. 5.28.1; Str. 4.4.2), their boastfulness (Diod. 5.31.1; Str. 4.4.5) and sexual prodigality (Diod. 5.32.7; Str. 4.4.6) to detailed descriptions of their armament (Diod. 5.30.2-4; Str. 4.4.3) and use of abundant ornaments made of gold (Diod. 5.27.3; Str. 4.4.5). Of all these parallels, the most striking is the exposition of the spiritual side of Celtic society in the respective

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<sup>9</sup> Varro, *RR* 2.10.9 and Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* 4.8.62.2 report a similar story as an occasional happening in Illyricum and in the neighbourhood of Spain respectively; Aelian, *De nat. anim.* 7.12 slights the Ligurian women by comparing them with a bitch; Ps.-Arist. *De mir.* 91 tells the same story about the Ligurian women. Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 193, indeed suggests that the account in Ps.-Arist. derived from Timaeus, one of the other sources whom Diodorus eagerly followed.



authors, with which agreement can also be found in Caesar, *BG*, another writer who may well have been acquainted with Posidonius: the tripartite division of the intellectual order of the Gauls into the Druids, the Diviners (οὐάταις in Strabo and μάνταις in Diod; cf. *euhages* in Amm. Marc. 15.9.8) and the Bards (Diod. 5.31.2-5; Str. 4.4.4); the use of human sacrifices in divination (Diod. 5.31.3; 32.6; Str. 4.4.5; Caes. 6.16; cf. 6.19); the Druids' function as arbitrators in wars (Diod. 5.31.5; Str. 4.4.4) and as superintendents of the sacrificial rituals (Diod. 5.31.4; Str. 4.4.5; Caes. 6.13; 6.16); and their doctrines which inculcate the immortality of souls (Diod. 5.28.5-6; Str. 4.4.4; Caes. 6.14; cf. Hdt. 4.93-96 on the Getae).<sup>10</sup> This group of parallel passages is attributed to no particular authorship, and thus to draw a 'Posidonian hypothesis' from a given passage in one of the three authors for a parallel in another is bound to be a circular argument (and especially in the case of Caesar). Furthermore, we must take account of the fact that many of these 'character traits' of the Gauls had become public knowledge or fixed stereotypes by the time of Strabo (cf. 4.4.6). However, an *interpretatio facilior* is still that they come from the same source rather than different ones, and that this source is Posidonius rather than somebody else. Other circumstantial evidence also seems to favour this interpretation.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> Of the three intellectual groups among the Gauls known in his time, there is no mention of the Druids in the attested Posidonian tradition (that is, in Strabo and Athenaeus); yet as Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.317-318, points out, the absence of the Druids must be due to a chance survival of the material. Caesar distinguished only the Druids and notoriously failed to mention the other two, the Bards and the Vates (*BG* 6.21); cf. Nash (1976), pp. 121-123. On Caesar's use of Posidonius for his account of Celtic and Germanic customs in *BG*, see Nash, *op. cit.*, p. 115; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.308 and 318; Grant (1992), p.635 n. 10.

<sup>11</sup> Strabo's description of the ritual sacrifice of human beings (4.4.5) in fact comes between two explicitly attested Posidonian quotations (F274 EK and F276 EK). In the same context, speaking of the extreme reverence paid to the Druids in such rituals, Diodorus also notes: 'thus even among the wildest barbarians passion yields to wisdom, and Ares reveres the Muses (οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀγριωτάτοις βαρβάροις ὁ θυμὸς εἶχει τῇ σοφίᾳ καὶ ὁ Ἄρης αἰδεῖται τὰς Μούσας)' (5.31.5). This seems to sound very much like the Posidonian credo of the universal nature of humanity, coloured with vivid rhetoric, yet I shall not resign myself to a dangerously circular hypothesis. The Diodoran account of Gaul as a whole (5.25-32) is printed as a Posidonian fragment F116 *Anhang* in *FGH*. For yet another parallel account in Amm. Marc. 15.9 (taken not from Posidonius, but from Timagenes = F2 *FGH* 2A.88) and 15.12 (F15 *Anhang*), and the problems it entails with regard to the problem of source transmission - that is, the possible involvement of Timagenes' Celtic ethnography - see Chap. 6, pp. 240-243.



Yet again, the diversity of presentation and organisation of the material by these authors is as astonishing as the similarity of the topics they cover. Diodorus' account is as ever the most extensive, incorporating some more details not recorded in the attested fragments in Athenaeus and Strabo. At one point our historian even comes into conflict with a Posidonian fragment in Athenaeus: concerning the dining manner of the Gauls, Diodorus claims that they serve their meals on tables (5.28.4), while Athenaeus makes them sit on the ground while dining (Athen. 4.151E = F67 EK). The question is, whose version - Athenaeus', Strabo's, Diodorus' or even Caesar's - is the closest to Posidonius' original account? Athenaeus was always a free user of Posidonius, clipping individual passages from various parts of his source and redeploying them to suit his own contexts. Strabo also read, compressed and conflated multiple sources for a given account, and on this occasion too he probably had more sources than Posidonius alone, such as Timagenes (cf. FF5; 11; 12 *FGH* 2A.88; Str. 4.4.2). Caesar had the advantage of autopsy on his side.<sup>12</sup> What about Diodorus? First, it is obviously doubtful that all the details that are in the *Bibliothèque* but not in the attested Posidonian fragments also come from the *Histories*. For example, Diodorus' explanation of the word Γαλάται, that the people came to be called after a son of Heracles and a local princess (5.24), almost certainly does not go back to Posidonius, who would never seek an etymological explanation in mythology (cf. T89; FF 102; 272; 277a; 280; 281 EK; Diod. 5.32.4). One may note that Posidonius was not the only source for a Celtic ethnography available to Diodorus: both Timaeus and Polybius, other favourite sources of our historian, also wrote accounts of Gaul.<sup>13</sup> In addition, between the time of Posidonius' writing and that of Diodorus', there lies a crucial event that brought a new dimension to the Graeco-

<sup>12</sup> For the extent to which Strabo and Caesar could have relied specifically on Posidonius, or remained independent from him, see Nash (1976), pp. 113ff. She rightly warns of the danger of ascribing anything on the Gauls that is common among these authors - or any ancient writers - to a single literary authority, Posidonius. On Strabo's use of Timagenes (among many others), see Chap. 6, pp. 241ff.

<sup>13</sup> Yet on the same etymological point Diodorus also contradicts, as it seems, a version recorded by Timaeus (F69 *FGH* 3B.566). Thus the literary origin of Diodorus' etymology of the Gauls remains uncertain. As for the Celtic ethnography itself that follows, *FGH* prints Diod. 5.25-32 as a whole as *Anhang* 116; even Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.308f., while remaining rightly cautious, sees Diodorus' account as 'a somewhat loose version of Posidonius'; this view basically follows that of Nash (1973), p. 113.



Roman knowledge of the Celtic world - Caesar's conquest of Gaul and invasion of Britain.

Furthermore, various indications show that, even where it can be proved that our historian was indeed following Posidonius, he freely altered - or killed - the original context in which the philosopher had placed his ethnographic accounts, and the sense he had attached to them. As attested by Athenaeus (4.152F = F67 EK; 4.153C = F53 EK; 4.154A = F68 EK; 6.246C = F69 EK), those ethnographies were originally included in books of the *Histories*, a source which Diodorus mainly used for his Bk. 33 onwards. Thus Diodorus might well have been expected to treat the Celtic ethnography, and probably that of the Ligurians as well, in Bk. 34 in connexion with the Roman wars against the Celtoligurian Salluvi, the Allobroges and the Arverni in the years 125-121 (cf. 34/5.23); and this series of events is precisely what Posidonius is likely to have meant his Celtic and Ligurian ethnographies to serve for as part of his historical aetiology.<sup>14</sup> However, in the *Bibliothèque* they appear instead in Bk. 5, showing that Diodorus did not follow the original arrangement of his source, but detached the material from its historical context and transplanted it as ethnographies *per se*. Diodorus' insensitivity towards original Posidonian contexts is much in evidence within the ethnographic material too. At one point, describing the geography of Gaul, Diodorus stresses that the land is rich in gold (χρυσὸς δὲ πολὺς); and that the Celts have dedicated a large amount of gold to their temples, yet no one has ever touched it for fear of the gods (διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν) although the Celts are extremely covetous (φιλαργύρων) (5.27). This description clearly ties up with, and in all probability directly derives from, Posidonius' defence of the Tectosages and the *aurum Tolosanum* (F273 EK = Str. 4.1.13), in which the philosopher pointed out the gold-richness of their country and the god-fearing character of its inhabitants (ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὖσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ...). For Posidonius, gold, and other kinds of precious metal, also raised particular ethical questions.<sup>15</sup> However,

<sup>14</sup> See Kidd (1989), pp. 48-49; *id.*, *Comm.*, 1.309-310; Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 168 and 212; Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 106. For the historical context of the Ligurian ethnography and Roman campaigns against the Salluvi, see Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 168; Theiler, *Erläut.*, pp. 104f.; *CAH* 9.110f.

<sup>15</sup> See F239 EK; also cf. FF170 and 240a EK. For the Posidonian theory of wealth and human behaviour, Kidd (1989), pp. 47-48.

Diodorus clearly adopted this Posidonian piece in an altogether different context, with no mention of the *aurum Tolosanum*, let alone of the universal problem of the effects of precious metal on human behaviour. All these examples clearly show that not even Diodorus followed his current source Posidonius by rote, but - to the grief of Posidonian scholars and to the delight of Diodoran ones - used it with no less free rein than Athenaeus or Strabo did.<sup>16</sup>

Finally, a plea for caution in taking those citations from Posidonius as genuine 'Posidonian fragments'. Explicit attribution to the philosopher is not by itself a certificate of its authenticity, and, conversely, unattributed paraphrases in Diodorus may sometimes turn out to be closer to what Posidonius actually said. A supposedly Posidonian fragment in Josephus (*contra Ap.* 2.79-80 = F278 EK) and a Photian extract of Diodorus (34/5.1) on the Jewish religion provide a case in point. The two reports are quasi-parallels, sharing several analogous themes: the rejection of the Graeco-Roman pantheon by the Jews; Antiochus IV Epiphanes' entry into the temple of Jerusalem and his exposure of Jewish worship; and thinly disguised anti-Semitism in both reports. There are also divergences, however: according to Diodorus, the statue Epiphanes discovered in the temple was an image of Moses seated on an ass, not the head of an ass as Josephus transmits. Moreover, while Josephus accuses Posidonius (and Molon) of the invention of these stories as a means of defending Epiphanes (2.90), Diodorus' account, though far from flattering towards the Jews, implicitly criticises the blasphemy of the king by contrasting it with Antiochus VII Sidetes' moderation (34/5.1.4f.).<sup>17</sup> We can justifiably question how much the supposedly Posidonian fragment in Josephus actually goes back to him. In the first place, Josephus' original text is missing for *c. Ap.* 2.52-113; thus this text and the surrounding parts of it have been supplied by a sometimes clumsy Latin translation of Greek in the sixth century AD. Furthermore, Josephus credits the authority of Apion's

<sup>16</sup> For Diodorus' re-deployment of portions of a particular source in different parts of the *Bibliothèque*, see Hornblower (1981), pp. 62f.; cf. Sacks (1990), p. 114.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.950. *μεγαλόψυχος*, used to describe the personality of Antiochus VII, is a characteristically Diodoran compliment (see below). Yet Photius, who extracted the Diodoran passage, accuses our historian of invectives against the Jews (*Bibliotheca* 379b.39ff.: *καταψευσάμενος κτλ.*), curiously the same charge that Josephus threw at Posidonius.



story not only to Posidonius but also to Apollonius Molon; he cites Posidonius only here, thus making it very unlikely that he read the *Histories* himself.<sup>18</sup> Diodorus' report, despite being epitomised by Photius, is still more detailed than Josephus', and seems to find a more suitable place in a Posidonian context: Epiphanes' raid on the temple itself falls outside the scope of the *Histories*, hence must have been mentioned in the context of Sidetes' siege of Jerusalem - precisely as it is presented in the *Bibliothèque*. At any rate, there would have been no reason, despite Josephus' charge, for Posidonius to justify the action taken by Epiphanes. Thus the Diodoran version appears to transmit Posidonius' original account in more authentic form than Josephus. Even if Josephus' (or Apion's) authority ultimately goes back to the same Posidonian source, it must have undergone considerable distortions through a second-hand intermediary.<sup>19</sup>

### 3. POLITICAL *TENDENZ*: THE QUESTION OF ROMAN SOURCES

It has long been recognised that Diodorus' Roman narrative covering the period after the destruction of Carthage often betrays the viewpoint of a particular political class at Rome, namely, the senatorial class (see Chap. 3). This largely correct observation has at the same time served as part of the basis for identifying Posidonius' influences in the Diodoran narrative. Posidonius is known to have been associated in his youth, through his teacher Panaetius (TT1a; 9-10 EK; cf. TT7-8 EK), with young élite Romans attached to Stoicism (T12: Aelius Tubero), and in his later years his followers included prominent Romans such as Cicero (TT 29-34 EK) and Pompey (TT 35-39 EK). Yet the philosopher's most important link with the Roman ruling class was his friendship with P. Rutilius Rufus, another serious pupil of Panaetius

<sup>18</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 197; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.948-951; Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 96.

<sup>19</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 196-197, takes Diodorus' report as more genuinely Posidonian (printing it as F109 *Anhang*); and from this assumption and from Strabo, 16.35ff. (F70 FGH; F278 EK excludes the sections in question), which he also believes to reflect Posidonius indirectly, discards Josephus as first-hand evidence for Posidonius. So does Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.949, though cautiously. At any rate, the anecdote that follows in Josephus about the discovery of a kidnapped Greek in the temple (2.91-96) could hardly derive from the *Histories*. Yet see also another Posidonian fragment on the death of Antiochus Sidetes (Athen. 10.439D-E = F63 EK; cf. FF61a-b, with Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.298-299), which is hardly complimentary and thus strongly contrasts with Diodorus' laudatory treatment of the king in 34/5.1.4f.; on this fragment, see below.

(T13; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 114), who was a lawyer and, according to Velleius, was also a historian (Vell. 2.9.6). The fact that Rutilius' literary work was known in Latin traditions as *De vita sua* (Rutilius FF7-15 Peter) shows that it was autobiographical in nature. Yet Athenaeus, following a citation from Posidonius (F78 EK), refers to the Greek version of this work as a *History of Rome* (τῷ τὴν 'Ρωμαικὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδωκότι τῇ 'Ελλήνων φωνῇ), a term which Posidonius himself had no doubt used to describe the character of his Stoic friend's writing (Athen. 4.168E). The original context of this Posidonian fragment was almost certainly Rutilius' notorious trial *de repetundis* in 92 (οὗτος δ' ἐστὶν 'Απίκιος ὁ καὶ τῆς φυγῆς αἴτιος γενόμενος 'Ρουτιλίῳ), an event for which Posidonius' immediate source could not have been other than Rutilius' own work (cf. F6 Peter).

From these *testimonia* there is little doubt that Posidonius' Roman sources included Rutilius' quasi-historical work in Greek (as well as the Greek traditions dependent or directly deriving from Sulla for the period of the Social War onwards). Furthermore, there are several Diodoran passages that reflect Roman conservatism in general and that seem to point to Rutilius in particular, and thus encourage the assumption of Posidonius as the literary intermediary. However, any Roman works written in Greek, such as those of Rutilius and Sulla, were in theory directly available to Diodorus in that form; and his citation of Fabius Pictor (7.5.4) clearly shows that he was just as ready as Posidonius was to use Roman authors writing in Greek. Furthermore, the extent to which Diodorus' Roman narrative reflects particular influences from Rutilius clearly requires further scrutiny in each case. Since all the cases in which the 'Rutilian question' arises involve Roman affairs, they will be examined individually in subsequent chapters.

#### 4. CONCEPTUAL AND LEXICAL AFFINITIES

According to the famous remark by Athenaeus, Posidonius 'composed his *Histories* in a way not foreign to his philosophical direction (ἐν ταῖς 'Ιστορίαις, αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως ἥς προήρητο φιλοσοφίας)' (Athen. 4.151E = T80 EK).<sup>20</sup> The

<sup>20</sup> This well-known characterisation of the *Histories* has been suspected not to be an observation made by Athenaeus himself, but to derive directly from Posidonius' own statement in the *Histories*; see Chap. 3, note 23.



Posidonian system of natural and moral philosophy is to certain extent reconstructible, thanks to the way in which later authors quoted or cited his non-historical writings in the context of ongoing philosophical discourses (cf. FF 18; 90 EK). However, the question of how he actually applied his theory of philosophy to the study of history has been made more complex, largely owing to the shattered nature of the evidence resulting from the very arbitrary use of the *Histories* by the likes of Athenaeus. Thus the question has yet to produce a satisfactory answer. This department of *Quellenforschung* attempts to do exactly that, by seeking to reconstruct the supposedly Posidonian philosophy of history from various passages in secondary sources. Yet the results have not been particularly encouraging. Scholars have all too often been ready to use unattested material which may or may not derive from Posidonius, to track down Posidonian evidence in another unattested tradition such as Diodorus, ending up as they obviously would with circular hypotheses. The following examples from Posidonian fragments and passages from the *Bibliothèque* will well illuminate both the *modus operandi* of this kind of source detection and its innate limitations.

Athenaeus' method of selection has largely dictated the character of the extant material of the *Histories*, much of which is, as one would put it, laden with descriptions of 'corpulent monarchs' of the East, 'extravagance by megalomaniac deuteragonists or by crude upstarts', 'servile flattery', or 'petty peoples degenerate through luxurious life'.<sup>21</sup> Thus we have the luxury and corruption in the declining Hellenistic monarchies (Athen. 6.252E = F56 EK; 12.549D-E = F58 EK; 12.550A-B = F77 EK; cf. 13.594D-E = F66 EK) and in Asiatic cities (Athen. 4.176B-C = F54 EK; 12.527E-F and 5.210E-F = FF62a-b EK), or the extravagance and servitude in the Parthian court (Athen. 4.152F-153A = F57 EK; 11.466B-C = F65 EK). Against these examples of depravity, we also hear of a general of Antiochus Grypus, who kept a strict discipline of his army (Athen. 4.153B-C = F75 EK) and who, according to Pompeius Trogus (*Prol.* 39), later usurped the throne. Athenaeus' literary interest, as in other cases, is entirely confined to grotesque and superficial presentation of ancient

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<sup>21</sup> Strasburger (1982), p. 826f. (=1961, p. 38f.): 'fettleibige Monarchen, Extravaganzen größenwahnsinniger Deuteragonisten oder roher Emporkömmlinge, sklavisches Schmeichlertum, im Luxusleben verkommene Duodezväölken.'



luxury and gluttony. Behind these frivolities, however, there must have lain Posidonius' grand historical αἰτιολογικόν, with its didactic purposes to serve in a rather Polybian manner as warnings. Though deprived of the original contexts to which they belonged, some of the above-cited passages and a few others (cf. FF59; 161; 169-170; 253 EK) still point to recurrent Posidonian themes that conceptually bind them together - such as the danger of human inclination towards sensual pleasure and emotional satisfaction, which results in social decadence in general and, in the case of those who possess wealth and power, in the misuse of them: that is, the danger of misbehaviour of the ruler, often encouraged by equally vicious advisers, towards the ruled. Yet Athenaeus clearly did not appreciate such philosophical niceties, or at least he was not shy of disregarding Posidonius' real intentions in presenting those historical *exempla*.<sup>22</sup>

Against this general state of the attested fragments, the Diodoran narrative from Bk. 33 onwards includes numerous passages which, though equally fragmented by the Constantinian excerptors, may well give the impression of serving better to supply those Posidonian contexts crudely discarded by Athenaeus: the extravagance and rampant tyranny, which are very often to end up with subsequent upheavals and reversals (Peripatetic?), of such royal figures as Demetrius II Nicator (33.4; 4a; 9), Ptolemy VIII Physcon (33.6-6a; 12-13; 22-23; 28b; 34/5.14; cf. 33.20), Attalus III (34/5.3), Antiochus IX Cyzicenus (34/5.34), a Thracian chieftain Diegylis (33.14-15) and his son Zibelmus (34/5.12), a Pisidian Molcestes (33.5a), and Parthian governor Euhemerus (34/5.21). In contrast to these reprehensible rulers, Diodorus also records some examples which will serve as models: Attalus II (33.15), Arsaces VI Mithridates I (33.18), Antiochus VII Sidetes (34/5.1.4-5), Alexander II Zabinas (34/5.22), Hierax, general of Ptolemy Physcon (33.22), and Ptolemy VIII himself (34/5.20).<sup>23</sup> Some of

<sup>22</sup> On the loss of the original contexts through the epitomators' process of selection, see Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.299; *id.* (1989), pp. 38ff.; cf. Brunt (1980), p. 486. For attempts to reconstruct Posidonius' socio-historical theories which supplied ideological contexts to these fragments, see Bringmann (1986), pp. 35-40, 46-49 and 53-54; Hahn (1989), pp. 1327-1347 and *passim*; Kidd (1989), pp. 45ff.

<sup>23</sup> Diodorus praises this general of Ptolemy VIII Physcon for his talents and magnanimity (μεγαλόψυχος) that saved the king from the revolt of Galaestes (33.22); he may be the same Hierax who, together with Diodotus Tryphon, had earlier changed sides from Demetrius I Soter to Alexander Balas, and then offered the Syrian throne to Ptolemy VI Philometor, brother of Physcon (32.9c; cf. 33.3). A Posidonian fragment in Athenaeus



those figures who feature in the *Bibliothēke*, and often their character assessments as well, coincide with those in the above-cited Posidonian fragments. For example, Euhemerus, the 'king' of the Parthians, notorious for his cruelty towards the Babylonians (Diod. 34/5.21), is branded as a 'tyrant' under the name of Himerus in an Athenaeus fragment of Posidonius (11.466 B-C = F65 EK).<sup>24</sup> A well-known Posidonian fragment that deals with an observation of Ptolemy Physcon's gross physique on the occasion of the Scipionic embassy to Egypt (Athen. 12.549D-E = F58 EK) also has a parallel in Diodorus, which in fact reveals the gist of the anecdote more clearly (33.28b): that is, the contrast between the king's empty display of luxury and the frugality and pragmatism of the Romans, epitomised in the personality of Scipio Aemilianus. Thus the Diodoran version seems not only to coincide with Posidonius thematically - the Roman embassy to Ptolemy's court - but to preserve better the *sense* of the Posidonian narrative than Athenaeus' quotation does (cf. FF 254; 265-267 EK).<sup>25</sup>

Posidonius certainly dealt with many of the eastern affairs that are covered by Diodorus. The philosopher, for example, reported the death of Antiochus Sidetes in battle with the Parthians in 129 (Athen. 10.439D-E = F63 EK; cf. F64 EK), an account of which partly survives in the *Bibliothēke* too (34/5.15-18).<sup>26</sup> And both

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(6.252E = F56 EK) also speaks of a Hierax of Antioch, who rose from the status of a flute player to be an influential parasite (κόλαξ) of Ptolemy Philometor and then of Physcon. Yet Posidonius' portrayal of this 'parasite', unlike that of the skilled general in Diodorus, is hardly complimentary, an emphasis on a lowly birth and earlier career being a typically Posidonian invective (cf. F253 EK on Athenion). Whether this Hierax is identical with that of Diodorus is uncertain: cf. Walton (1967), p. 43 n. 1; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.289.

<sup>24</sup> According to Pompeius Trogus, Himerus was governor of Babylonia appointed by the Parthian king Arsaces VII Phraates II (Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 42.1.3; cf. *Prol.* 42: *praefectus Parthis a Phrate*). Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 168, and Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.307, suggest that another Posidonian fragment on the excessive funeral given by Alexander's general Harpalus for his courtesan (Athen. 13.594D-E = F66 EK) may have been hinting at the extravagant luxury of Antiochus Cyzicenus. Yet this suggestion, which both Jacoby and Kidd admit to be highly hypothetical, risks circularity, since it is Diodorus himself who gives the king this bad press (34/5.34).

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.292-293. For the date of the embassy, see Broughton, *MRR* 1.481 n.2. Athenaeus here has confused Posidonius with his Stoic teacher Panaetius, who in fact accompanied Scipio's embassy: see F254 EK; Cic. *Acad.* 2.5; Plut. *Mor.* 200F, *Reg. et imp. apophth.* 13.

<sup>26</sup> Athenaeus (4.153A-B = F64 EK) speaks of the regal treatment of a 'Seleucid' in the Parthian court, who was taken prisoner by Arsaces VII Phraates II. For the problems of this fragment, see Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.303-304. Despite the suggestion by Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 167, this 'Seleucid' seems to mean Demetrius II (Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 36.1.2-6; 38.9.2-3; Joseph. *AJ* 13.184-6; I Macc. 14.1-3; App. *Syr.* 67), rather than Antiochus VII, let alone their



Posidonius (Athen. 8.333B-D = F226 EK) and Diodorus (33.28) related the struggle between the royal pretender Diodotus Tryphon and Demetrius' general Sarpedon. With all the above internal and external indications, which bring Posidonius and Diodorus close to each other, it may well be tempting for many to conclude that the eastern accounts in those books of the *Bibliothēke* ultimately derive from Posidonius' *Histories* altogether. It is true, on the other hand, that the same figures can sometimes receive conflicting assessments between the two authors: an Athenaeus fragment from the Bk. 5 of the *Histories*, a vivid Posidonius portrait of the servitude of the καλούμενος φίλος and the patronising king - understood to be Arsaces VI (Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.290) - in the Parthian court (Athen. 4.152F-153A = F57 EK) is hardly in tune with the Parthian king's exercise of equity (ἐπιείκεια) and restraint from arrogance, as depicted in the *Bibliothēke* (33.18); Diodorus' praise of Antiochus Sidetes' magnanimity (μεγαλοψυχία) (34/5.1.4-5) also stands in stark contrast with the quite unfavourable remark which Posidonius made the Parthian king Phraates to utter at his death (Athen. 10.439D-E = F63 EK). Yet varying assessment of a historic figure itself is not uncommon both in the 'Posidonius narrative' (e.g., those of Ti. Gracchus or Marius) and other books of the *Bibliothēke* (e.g., that of Gelon). A far greater danger lies rather, as we shall see, in attributing the literary origin of a given passage to Posidonius solely on the basis of its supposed 'philosophical coherence' with other fragments from the *Histories*.

## 5. POSIDONIUS OR DIODORUS?

Much of the eastern account in the Bks. 33-34/5 of the *Bibliothēke*, even where passages have no clear parallels in the extant Posidonius material, demonstrates a considerable degree of stylistic and/or conceptual affinities with attested fragments of the philosopher. It is loaded with a stock of moralistic terms such as τρυφή and ἡδονή, which were also central forces of causality both in Posidonius' theory of psychology and historical aetiology (FF35; 58; 59; 62a; 77; 158; 160; 164; 169; 185;

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sons Seleuci: whereas it may well be due to a blunder in personal name, place name (see Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 36.1.5; 38.9.3, 7 and 9: *in Hyrcaniam*) and/or book number on the part of Athenaeus, it is hard to believe that he could have mistaken the overall content of the original.



187 EK). The Diodoran passage on the self-indulgence and lack of military equipment of King Antiochus Cyzicenus (34/5.34), though somewhat less colourful in language, may also well be comparable in spirit to Posidonius' sarcastic portrayal of the degenerate Apameians at war with the Larissaeans (Athen. 4.176B-C = F54 EK).<sup>27</sup> Posidonius, applying his psychological theory to history, developed the notion that the *causae efficientes* of historical events lie in the innate disposition of their protagonists, either as individuals or as groups (cf. FF35; 160; 169 EK). Hence, it is thought, Diodorus' remark that the cause (αἰτία) of Demetrius II's despotic disposition was ... his nature (αἰτία δ' ἦν αὐτῷ τῆς διαθέσεως ταύτης ... ἡ φύσις)' (33.4.1) was a natural expression of this Posidonian applied psychology.<sup>28</sup>

Yet it is precisely here that the danger lies. For among the nearly four hundred occurrences of φύσις in the *Bibliothèque* according to a *TLG* search, there are many examples of the use of the word to explain the causes of historical events very much along these Posidonian lines. Not infrequently Diodorus attributes the causes of historical events to the φύσις of those who instigated them, no matter what sources he may be following in particular books, and although in these passages Diodorus does not explicitly use the word αἰτία, it is clear from the context where the liability lies. For example, our historian praises the ancient Egyptian pharaohs for their obedience to the established laws, for they believed that everyone else brings perils by following natural passion (τὰ φυσικὰ πάθη) (1.71.3). Semiramis, legendary queen of Assyria, eager for great objectives (μεγαλεπίβολος) and ambitious (φιλοτιμουμένη) by her nature, founded Babylon (2.7.2), and also achieved many great deeds, being μεγαλεπίβολος and daring (τολμηρά) by nature (2.20.5). The Persian king Astyages, when defeated, punished all who were responsible, 'since he was cruel and by nature harsh (ᾠπηνής)' (9.23). Antiochus, a subordinate of Alcibiades, disobeyed his commander's order because he was of an off-hand (πρόχειρος) nature, and thus brought a disaster to the Athenian fleet at Notium (13.71.2). A Persian minister

<sup>27</sup> See also Busolt (1890), p. 335.

<sup>28</sup> On the aetiological rôle Posidonius assigned to the inborn nature of historical individuals and social/ethnic (hence his ethnological studies) groups, see Bringmann (1986), pp. 47-49; Hahm (1989), pp. 1328ff. and 1350ff.; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.177f., 2.574f. and 2.616ff.; *id.* (1989), p. 46ff. Bringmann, *ibid.*, employs this Diodoran fragment on Demetrius Nicator II to explain Posidonius' working method.



Bagoas, a warlike (πολεμικός) rogue by nature, poisoned the cruel king Artaxerxes III Ochus (17.5.3). Alexander's generous treatment of his soldiers is said to have been partly due to his magnanimous (μεγαλόψυχος) nature (17.74.4). Diodorus may well have put the blame for the Roman defeat at Drepana during the First Punic War on the consul Claudius Pulcher, who was 'hot-tempered (παράθερμος) and distracted from thought (τῇ διανοίᾳ παρακεκνηκῶς)' and 'ready to punish (τιμωρητιλός) by nature' (24.3.1). And there are numerous other examples of the same sort (9.1.1; 13.43.6; 14.20.3; 15.29.5; 20.16.1; 20.28.1; 22.3.1; 26.2; 29.19; 32.9a). Diodorus applied, just as Posidonius did, this aetiological approach not only to individual figures but often to communities as well: the Spartans, by their nature fond of power (φιλαρχοῦντες) and warlike (πολεμικοί), tried to regain the dominance of Greece (15.5.1); so did the Spartan king Agesilaus, who was rigorous (δραστικός) by nature (15.19.4); the same is said of the Thebans, who were warlike (φιλοπόλεμοι) by nature (15.50.5), together with their commander Epaminondas, μεγαλεπίβολος by nature (15.66.1). A passage which was not drawn from Posidonius even fits in with Posidonius' theory of the *causa praecedens* and the *causa efficiens* perfectly: the Persian king Cambyses, who was mad (μανικός) and distracted from reasoning (παρακεκνηκῶς τοῖς λογισμοῖς) by nature, was further made cruel and arrogant by the greatness of his empire (10.14).<sup>29</sup>

The aetiological use of φύσις thus seems to be more a commonplace in Diodorus than particularly Posidonian.<sup>30</sup> And this case exemplifies one of the difficulties and uncertainties that surround modern Posidonian *Quellenforschung*. One

<sup>29</sup> Sacks (1990), pp. 37f., also argues for Diodorus' independent use of φύσις, yet his exposition is rather short. For the Posidonian theory of *causa efficiens* and its distinction from *causa praecedens*, see the previous note, and F170 EK; Bringmann (1986), pp. 38-40.

<sup>30</sup> Bringmann (1986), pp. 49-51, sees a typical example of Posidonius' expression of the ideal form of human nature in Diodorus' character portrait of the barbarian Viriathus, who showed disdain towards luxury and 'considered self-sufficiency to be the greatest wealth (ὑπελάμβανεν γὰρ τὴν μὲν αὐτάρκειαν μέγιστον ὑπάρχειν πλοῦτον)' and who 'spoke from his self-taught and unperturbed nature (ὥς ἂν ἐξ αὐτοδιδάκτου καὶ ἀδιαστρόφου φύσεως φέρων)' (33.7.3ff.). This view may well be Stoic yet, again, not necessarily Posidonian - see, for example, a comparable remark in an earlier book of the *Bibliothēke*: 'the nature of this people (sc. the Ichthyophagi), being unperturbed, holds the satisfying of their need to be the greatest good, desiring none of the foreign pleasures (ἡ γὰρ φύσις αὐτῶν ἀδιάστροφος οὕσα τὴν ἀναπλήρωσιν τῆς ἐνδείας ἡγεῖται μέγιστον ἀγαθόν, οὐδὲν τῶν ἐπεισάκτων ἡδέων ἐπιζητοῦσα)' (3.17.4)



may often come upon seemingly analogous *topoi* between remnants of Posidonius' *Histories* and passages of Diodorus, drawing on this basis a general picture of the philosopher's historiographical methods - only, however, later to find out that the same *topoi* are prevalent in other parts of the *Bibliothēke* irrespective of sources used. It can also be observed that the above-cited passages on eastern affairs are dotted with a few clichéd themes and formulaic expressions: for example, popular uprisings are often explained as revenge (33.4a; 5a; 34/5.12) of the populace, having been furious at the excess and harshness of their rulers and eager for a change (33.4.4; 4a: τὰ πλήθη μεταβολῆς ὀρεγόμενα; 12: τὰ πλήθη καὶ πρὸς μεταβολὴν οἰκείως ἔχοντα; 34/5.3; cf. 34/5.28.1). This explanation would be very much reminiscent of the moral to the causal analysis of the First Sicilian Slave War in Bk. 33/4 (34/5.2; 8-11), for which there is little doubt that Diodorus used Posidonius' *Histories* (see Chap. 5). Yet this theme too turns out to be ubiquitous in any given book of the *Bibliothēke* outside the 'Posidonian narrative': the subject people of Astyages, unable to endure the harshness of the king, desired a change of affairs (9.23: τῆς πράξεως μεταβολῆς ὀρέγετο); the people of Syria, discontent with the austerity of Demetrius I Soter, was eager for a change at the emergence of Alexander Balas (31.32a: οἰκεῖοι τῆς μεταβολῆς); the lawlessness (παρανομία) of Phintias, a Sicilian tyrant, put his subjects on the verge of revolt (ἀπόστασις), the first to revolt being the people of Agyrium, Diodorus' own native city (22.2). We must of course discount the Constantinian excerptors' predilection for this kind of topic, yet the same *topos* occasionally emerges from complete books too: compare the harsh rule of King Amasis driving the Egyptian populace to revolt when the Ethiopians attacked Egypt (1.60.1-3); Agathocles' seeking support from the poor, who welcomed the change (19.9.5); or the ruthlessness of Olympias, Alexander's mother, towards the Macedonians giving a sign of an impending change (19.11.9). This formulaic thought, incidentally, is also echoed in Plutarch (*Agis*, 7.8; *Sert.* 24.7; cf. *Plb.* 14.9).

A lexical survey into the moral vocabulary that often accompanies these ethical assessments of individuals and societies most clearly reveals our problem. Diodorus' descriptions of eastern rulers and their subjects are replete with such words as τρυφή (33.18; 34/5.34), φιλανθρωπία (33.15.1; 18; 34/5.3; 20), ἐπιείκεια (twice

in 33.4.4; 4a; 12; 15.1; twice in 18), μεγαλοψυχία (33.22; 34/5.1.5; 22), εὐσέβεια /ἀσέβεια (34.4.1; 28a; 34/5.1.1; 14; 28.2), ἡδονή (33.22; 23), πολυτέλεια (33.9; 28b.2), παρανομία (twice in 33.4.4; 4a; 6; 6a; 9; 12; 14.2; 34/5.12), ἀνομία (33.4.1; 6), ὠμότης (33.4.1; 6; twice in 12; 14.3 and 5; 15.1 and 2; 22; twice in 34/5.3; 12; 14; 21) and μαιφονία (33.4.4; 12; 13; 22; twice in 34/5.3; 12; 14). And these words indeed recur throughout the rest of the ‘Posidonian narrative’ from Bks. 33 onwards, suggesting, it might seem, that they all represent key concepts in Posidonius’ historical analysis. As it turns out, however, all these words, with the moral qualities pertaining to them, are used with considerable frequency in other books of Diodorus too, for which Posidonius was certainly not the main source, whereas some of them are completely absent in the attested fragments of the philosopher.

TABLE 1: COMPARISON OF MORAL VOCABULARY IN DIODORUS, POSIDONIUS AND POLYBIUS

<i>Bibl.</i> (whole)	<i>Bibl.</i> (Bks. 33-38/9)	Posidonian Fragments (fr. nos. EK)	Polybius
τρυφή (n.), τρυφερός (adj.), τρυφάω, ἐντρυφάω (v.)			
86 instances	10 instances	FF58; 59; 62a; 77	4 instances
φιланθρωπία (n.), φιλάνθρωπος (adj.), φιλανθρωπῶς (adv.), φιλανθρωπεύομαι (v.)			
168	17	FF257; 261	130
ἐπιείκεια (n.), ἐπιεικῆς (adj.), ἐπιεικῶς (adv.)			
126	18	FF257; 133	9
μεγαλοψυχία (n.), μεγαλόψυχος (adj.), μεγαλοψύχως (adv.)			
40	5	—	47
εὐσέβεια (n.), εὐσεβής (adj.), εὐσεβῶς (adv.)			
69	7	FF266; 277a	4
ἀσέβεια, ἀσέβημα (n.), ἀσεβής (adj.), ἀσεβῶς (adv.), ἀσεβέω, συνάσεβέω (v.)			
113	9	F240a	56
ἡδονή (n.)			
33	10	FF35 (twice); 158; 160; 164; 169 (6 times); 185; 187; ?289	5
πολυτέλεια (n.), πολυτελής (adj.), πολυτελῶς (adv.)			
146	14	FF49; 53; 62a; 67; 273	34
παρανομία, παρανόμημα (n.), παράνομος (adj.), παρανόμως (adv.), παρανομέω (v.)			
123	33	—	60
ἀνομία, ἀνόμημα (n.), ἄνομος (adj.), ἀνομέω (v.)			
20	8	—	1
ὠμότης (n.), ὠμός (adj.)			
79	22	—	29
μαιφονία (n.), μαιφόνος (adj.), μαιφονέω (v.)			
22	15	—	—

Surveyed by TLG and TLG Workplace



The table above outlines an overall view of the use of the words and their cognates in the *Bibliothēke*. For a comparison, the table also lists the frequency of occurrence of the same words in Polybius, the predecessor of Posidonius and one of the main sources for Diodorus. Of these words, only those associated with luxury and material pleasure (τρυφή, ἡδονή and πολυτέλεια), i.e., signs of individual and social decay, have notable presence in attested Posidonian fragments, although they too occur in various parts of non-Posidonian passages of the *Bibliothēke*. Others, such as φιλανθρωπία, ἐπιείκεια and μεγαλοψυχία, often stock words of commendation of an ideal Hellenistic king, can be attributed with confidence to Diodorus himself. What is interesting, however, is the fact that, as the table shows, the moral qualities associated with these words, or a lack thereof (represented by ἀσέβεια, παρανομία, ὠμότης and the like), are also favourite themes of Polybius, a historian who, being beyond a mere source, was probably among the most influential on Diodorus' own view of history.<sup>31</sup>

Such linguistic and stylistic unity of the *Bibliothēke* has long been recognised.<sup>32</sup> What, then, is the explanation of the fairly even distribution of seemingly 'Posidonian' vocabulary throughout the *Bibliothēke* that is demonstrated in the table? It is of course possible that Diodorus was influenced by Posidonius not only as a direct source for Bks. 33-37 but also conceptually in other books - just as his overall historical perspective was partly shaped by that of Polybius. On the other hand, he may simply have been drawing on the stock of phrases and ideas generated in the common intellectual climate of the time. Diodorus' purpose in writing history, which for him was 'the prophetess of truth (τὴν προφήτιν τῆς ἀληθείας)' and 'the mother city of the whole of philosophy (τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας οἶονεὶ μητρόπολιν)' (1.2.2), may well have been fundamentally different from that of Posidonius, who merely saw

<sup>31</sup> That φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια formed the key concepts for Diodorus' own utilitarian view of history is rightly recognised by Sacks (1990), pp. 42ff., 78f. and 101-106, *contra* Strasburger (1965), pp. 48f. For the use of the two words in the context of the contemporary Roman rule, see Chap. 3, pp. 68ff. and Chap. 4, pp. 127ff.; for Diodorus' usage of the words in the *Bibliothēke* in general, see Chap. 5, note 31. For the affinities and differences between Polybius' philosophical and historiographical approach and that of Diodorus (set against the shared background of the Hellenistic world), see Pavan (1987), *passim*.

<sup>32</sup> On the stylistic consistency of the *Bibliothēke*, see the pioneer work by Palm (1955); cf. also Brunt (1980), p. 478.

history as applied philosophy, especially moral philosophy. Yet the means they chose for their respective purposes - moralistic condemnation or praise-blame approach - becomes ironically similar and at some points almost indistinguishable, a tendency which incidentally is shared by many if not all of the Greek and Roman writers before and after the period. It already risks circularity to trace Posidonius' authorship in individual passages of the *Bibliothēke*, and to attempt on that basis to reconstruct his philosophy of history. Yet it would stretch credulity to put the *Zeitgeist* of late-Hellenistic and late-Republican literature down to a single literary figure such as Posidonius. These general considerations regarding the literary and ideological relationship between Posidonius, Diodorus and other contemporary authors, are an important part of the background to the discussions of individual topics covered in the following chapters.



## CHAPTER III

### Rome

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**T**hroughout the second century BC and the earlier part of the first, despite the strains imposed by the growing weight of its Empire, the political apparatus of the Roman Republic remained that of a city state, and its polity an amateurish oligarchy. Consequently the City underwent a century-long internal crisis (constantly aggravating and being aggravated by provincial and foreign problems), which eventually saw the Augustan *restitutio rei publicae*, or the Principate, emerge as the ultimate solution. Much of this turmoil took place during Diodorus' own lifetime, and all of it within living memory of his near contemporaries. Yet our historian appears to have given markedly little expression to his political and historical views, if any, on the cataclysm engulfing the city of Rome: instead he constantly gives the impression of an armchair historian.<sup>1</sup> Such an impression is perhaps not least enhanced by the title he chose to use for his work - Βιβλιοθήκη, the 'Library'.<sup>2</sup>

That is not to say, however, that the way the events in question are presented appears detached or apolitical; on the contrary, it is infamously tendentious and, in fact, (in general) highly partisan in its somewhat reactionary stance. For the last reason, this *Tendenz* in the Diodoran narrative has been explained as reflecting that of his chief source, Posidonius - or, more precisely, the philosopher's Roman connexions, who were, it is claimed, predominantly Optimates and who, notably Rutilius Rufus among others, supplied him with information of the events only as they

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<sup>1</sup> Grant (1992), p. 241, characterises Diodorus' political disposition as follows: 'despite his orientation toward Rome, his distaste for democracy, and his admiration for strong men, he remains basically unpolitical'; see also Rawson (1985), pp. 92 and 226. On the discussions concerning Diodorus' lifetime, see Chap. 6, p. note 100 and note 106.

<sup>2</sup> The title clearly shows, it has been said (probably rightly), that Diodorus' intention was from the outset not to carry out an independent historical research of his own: see Hornblower (1981), pp.22f.; Malitz (1983), p. 35f.; Spoerri (1991), p. 314; Ambaglio (1995), p. 9. Later Eusebius also saw Diodorus' work as essentially encyclopaedic: *qui* (sc. Diodorus) *omnes bibliothecas in unum idemque emporium summatim collegit* (*Chron.* 1.284 = *Diod.* 7.4.4).

saw them.<sup>3</sup> Despite the ever increasing realisation in recent studies of a certain degree of originality and inventiveness on the part of Diodorus (see Introduction), such recognition has yet to be extended to this domain of the narrative where it concerns: internal struggles among the Roman *partes*. By the same token, when the ‘Posidonian hypothesis’ is contested at all, the argument is generally about whether it is really Posidonius’ account or (an)other source(s) which Diodorus’ narrative reflects, not whether he could possibly have intruded his political views into it.<sup>4</sup> This circumscription of scope is not without reason: he has, probably rightly, been seen as essentially a moralising historian and Sicilian patriot with a strong sense of regionalism who would not have been much excited by the *arcana* of the ever-shifting factional politics within the walls of the Imperial City.

On the face of it there certainly seems nothing that indicates the presence of overtly discordant opinions in the Diodoran passages that deal with the internal tumults at Rome from the Gracchan period down at least to the early 80s, in that they are almost invariably leaning towards the cause of the *boni*. Thus it may indeed be that neither Diodorus nor his source - let us assume for the moment that he is Posidonius - was intellectually ‘engaged’ in the niceties of Rome’s political machinery, and that what we have here is merely a Greek rendering of the conservative voices emanating from a few prominent Romans. Yet Posidonius was a leading academic of his day, and a highly imaginative one at that. Therefore, even if the philosopher proves to be somewhat deficient in critical judgement of his material already loaded with biases, it is wildly improbable that he also failed to remould it on the philosophical and quasi-historical paradigm laid out in his *Histories* and other works. If it turns out otherwise, that would rather undermine than strengthen the case for Posidonius as the immediate source of those Diodoran passages. And the same readiness to ‘filter’ his material may even be found in Diodorus, too; for from an observation of other

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<sup>3</sup> This thesis was first proposed by Busolt (1890), pp. 329-333; and followed by the subsequent (largely German) scholarship on Posidonius: Münzer, *RE Rutilius Rufus*, col. 1280; *RE Livius Drusus*, col. 859; Gelzer (1931), pp. 271f.; Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 159; Strasburger (1965), pp. 40-42; Bowersock (1965), p. 3; Desideri (1972), p. 483 n. 7; Càssola (1982), p. 766f.; Malitz (1983), pp. 60f. and p. 365ff.; cf. Reinhardt, *RE Poseidonios*, cols. 635f.

<sup>4</sup> As in Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979); also *id.* (1983), *passim*; Botteri (1980), p. 86.



passages of the *Bibliothèque* it does emerge that he also had his own agenda, if not nearly as comprehensive as that of Posidonius. Furthermore, it should be noted that all the internal turbulence was also inevitably and directly impinging upon the conditions of the provincials, such as Diodorus himself, in one way or another. More than a century later Tacitus (*Ann.* 1.2), perhaps echoing Sallust (*Cat.* 4.3), summed up the provincial attitudes of that period towards the body politic of the Roman state as follows: *suspecto senatus populi imperio ob certamina potentium et avaritiam magistratum, invalido legum auxilio quae vi ambitu postremo pecunia turbabantur*. Any provincial intellectual, even the dullest sort (to which category some might cruelly say Diodorus belongs), could not have been unaware of the direct impact on provinces of a series of agrarian, taxation and administrative policies decided and often repealed at Rome, from the Gracchi to a greatest reformer of Diodorus' own day, Julius Caesar.

With these premises in mind, I shall in the following sections examine the questions of: whether Diodorus used Posidonius at all as the main or unique source for the account of Rome during the period in question; if so, to what extent this 'Posidonian hypothesis' can validly be extended to the particulars of any given passage; how accurately we can reconstruct, on our Diodoran evidence, Posidonius' view of the political reality of the City and its implications for the rest of the Empire; and whether we can differentiate it from Diodorus' own perspective, and those of both authors from the common intellectual milieu of the time in which they wrote, and if so, how. Inevitably my analysis will also involve a good deal of *Quellenforschung*, as it will be the case in large part with the subsequent chapters too.

## 1. THE CHRONOLOGY OF DECLINE

A good starting point for the discussion will be the highly eulogistic account of the Scipiones Nasicae, which may have been (but was not necessarily) a literary elaboration of the *laudatio funebris* for P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica Serapio, consul in 111, and which has been deemed of a Posidonian origin by most scholars (34/5.33 =

F112 *FGH Anhang*).<sup>5</sup> For not only does the very fact of a eulogy of these noblemen, and the elder Nasica Serapio the ‘tyrannicide’ in particular, tell us a lot about the political tendency of much of the rest of the Roman narrative in the *Bibliothèque*, but the political/ historical theory incorporated in the passage seems already to postulate a conceptual framework within which many of the Roman affairs in those years, both internal and external, are to be interpreted and described. This theory famously takes the form of a ‘prophecy’ in the political debate between Cato and Nasica Corculum, in which Nasica, Optimate sage and *princeps senatus*, is made to pronounce his opposition to the destruction of Carthage; those ‘who excelled in wisdom (τοῖς δὲ διαφέρουσι τῇ φρονήσει)’ agreed with him, according to Diodorus, since they thought that the presence of *metus Punicus* would ensure that the Romans would live in harmony (ὁμονοεῖν) and rule their subjects moderately and honourably (ἐπιεικῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως); its complete removal, however, would discharge them of such necessities and eventually lead to ‘dangerous demagoguery and redistributions of land’, ‘civil wars among citizens and hatred towards Roman hegemony among all the allies...’ Which indeed all came true (ἅπερ ἅπαντα συνέβη τῇ Ῥώμῃ). Thus in this passage nearly all of the crises of the time are understood by reference to a single chain of cause and effect.

This last part of the ‘prophecy’ is needless to say a *post eventum* tradition retrojected to the late 150s, when the debate was actually taking place (cf. Liv. *Per.* 48-50; Flor. 1.31.4-5; App. *Lib.* 69; Plut. *Cat. Mai.* 27; *De cap. ex inim. util.* 3, *Moralia* 88A; cf. Zonar. 9.30, with a faulty chronology!), yet as its reference to the Social and Civil Wars shows, will in fact not go back earlier than the Sullan period.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> On the view that the format and content of the entire passage on the Nasicae was based on the authentic *laudatio* for the consul of 111, see Busolt, (1890), pp. 330f.; Gelzer (1931), pp. 271f.; Cássola (1982), p. 765; Malitz (1983), p. 364 - all of whom see the *laudatio* as the ultimate origin, remodelled and incorporated into historiography by Rutilius Rufus and transmitted by Posidonius; doubts are raised with regard to its provenance from a *laudatio* by Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 210, as well as Botteri (1980), pp. 77f. and 86f.; yet neither Jacoby, *ibid.*, who prints the passage as F112 *Anhang*, nor Strasburger (1960), pp. 41f. and 49, question its Rutilian-Posidonian authorship. Furthermore Gelzer, *ibid.*, in his typically terse style, wrote: ‘Diodor schrieb Poseidonios aus.’ Wiseman (1979), pp. 115f., on the other hand, suggests that Diodorus took the eulogy of the Nasicae from Valerius Antias, yet his argument remains rather unconvincing.

<sup>6</sup> For the detailed chronology of the debate between Cato and Nasica, see Gelzer (1931), pp. 261-265.



Yet this 'chronology of decline', cardinal though it is to the comprehensive analysis of Diodorus' Roman narrative in these books, does not *per se* provide a primary key for detecting the source of the passage. There is nothing obvious that specifically points to Posidonius, or to his suspected source Rutilius Rufus for that matter, in the actual theory of the New World Disorder after the elimination of a *metus hostilis*, without mentioning the latest post-Cold War cliché; nor does it seem to belong to any particular school of politics or philosophy.<sup>7</sup> Although Polybius seems to have had a different 'chronology of decline' of his own, namely, beginning with the end of the Third Macedonian War (Plb. 31.25; cf. Diod. 31.24; 37.3.6), he may well have already been familiar with the version presented in the debate between Cato and Nasica too (cf. Plb. 36.9) - especially if the parallels in Plutarch (*Cat. Mai.* 27; cf. *De cap. ex inim. util.* 3, *Moralia* 88A), Florus (1.31.4-5; cf. Oros. 4.23.8-9), itself immediately deriving from Livy, and Zonaras' excerpt of Dio (9.30) go back to the historian himself.<sup>8</sup> Sallust had exactly the same chronology as Diodorus, placing the change of the Roman *fortuna* after *remoto metu Punico* (*Cat.* 10; *Jug.* 41; *Hist.* 1.12M.). Velleius not only verbally articulated the same thesis (2.1.1: *quippe remoto Carthaginis metu ...*) but actually marked the destruction of Carthage as the dividing point of Bk. 1 and Bk. 2 of his (summary) universal history. Even Appian, although his was more a practical than a theoretical chronology, marking the beginning of Roman civil strife with the assassination of Ti. Gracchus (*BC* 1.1-2; 7ff.; 121), was still aware of the view that the *φόβος* of Carthage had been more a benefit than a detriment to the well-being of Rome (*Lib.* 69).

Attempts to trace the origin of the fragment from its lexical features have been largely abortive, too, at times ending up with a chicken-and-egg argument. In fact,

<sup>7</sup> Botteri (1980), pp. 83f., while rightly recognising the ideological principles laid down in the passage concerning Roman hegemony as a common product of the intellectual *Zeitgeist* of the time (esp. since Panaetius), somehow remains inarticulate as to the question of whether they came from Diodorus himself or from his source.

<sup>8</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 159 and 210, regarded the prophetic discourse attributed to Nasica as a literary expression of Posidonius' own view of Rome. Gelzer (1931), pp. 272ff., however, more convincingly demonstrates that it had already been formulated through political debates on the implications of the annihilation of Carthage among contemporaries since 146, including Polybius, and that it can even partly be traced as far back as the time of the Second Punic War; see also Malitz (1983), pp. 364f. On Polybius as the source for Plutarch's passage, see Gelzer (1931), pp. 272f. and 288f.



words such as ἀρετή (virtues attributed to Nasica Serapio, cos 111), εὐσέβεια (to Nasica, cos 191, or Nasica Corculum, cos 162 and 155), ἐπιείκεια, ὁμόνοια, and, to an extent, even εὐγένεια are so central to Diodorus' own conviction of the ideal government and leadership that they are more a proof of the internal integration of his work as a whole than a key to detect a source for the conceptual foundations of this particular fragment.<sup>9</sup> Thus neither the philosophical/ political orientations nor the language alone help much to determine both immediate and ultimate provenance of the passage. We must, therefore, rely more on rather circumstantial evidence to proceed further.

The first point is to seek the most plausible route of transmission for the content of the Nasican fragment. The consul of 111, Nasica Serapio, to whom the obituary is dedicated, is an obscure figure, apart from the fact that he was the colleague of the infamous L. Calpurnius Bestia at the beginning of the Jugurthine War, died in office and was given a public funeral (cf. Cic. *Brut.* 128; Sall. *Jug.* 27.3-4; Val. Max. 1.8.11; 7.5.2; Plin. *NH* 21.10; Eutrop. 4.26). It must have been his ancestors, especially the consuls of 162/155 and of 138, and not the man himself, who mattered to Diodorus, and very probably to Posidonius too - and it must be said that the supposed affiliation of the Nasicae with Stoicism is no more than an airy

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<sup>9</sup> Even a casual reading of a few other passages of the *Bibliothèque* will reveal the verbal conformity of this particular fragment to the rest of the work; yet to give some visible indications from a *TLG* search: ἀρετή and its cognate words occur 366 times throughout the *Bibliothèque*; εὐσέβεια 69 times (and its antonym ἀσεβεία 113 times); ἐπιείκεια 126 times; ὁμόνοια 33 times; and εὐγένεια 60 times. Sacks (1990), pp. 42-46, 78f. and 101-106, has effectively refuted the notorious view of Strasburger (1965), pp. 48f, that ἐπιείκεια as well as φιλανθρωπία constituted the keywords for the Posidonian theory of master-subject relationship. It is equally misguided to attribute εὐσέβεια and εὐγένεια particularly to the Optimate ideology of *mos maiorum* such as *pietas*, as Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), *passim*, and Botteri (1980), pp. 80-85, are prepared to do. Whereas these scholars find in the oligarchic ideology behind εὐγένεια evidence of its provenance from a Roman conservative source, Hahn (1989), p. 1331, n. 13, associates the word with Posidonius' interest in the rôle of heredity in forming one's nature. That may be so, yet as all the above references in the *Bibliothèque* show, Diodorus himself seems to have shared the common ancient notion pertaining to the word, that men of noble birth are (or should be) of necessity virtuous in character too. The only exception to the above statements may be ἀδωροδοχία/ ἀδωρία (incorruptibility); elsewhere this particular virtue is only reserved for Pompey (38/9.20), and once used in the *oratio obliqua* attribute to Livius Drusus (see below); on the question of the source for this Pompeian passage, see Chap. 6, pp. 229-231. The Roman susceptibility to bribes is particularly prominent as a theme in Diodorus' last books: e.g. 34/35.26.1; 36.8.5; 36.15.1.



conjecture.<sup>10</sup> There are, on the other hand, more substantial indications of a tie between this gentlemanly (as Cicero portrays him) but altogether inconspicuous consul of 111 and Rutilius Rufus, Posidonius' likely source, on a rather personal plane. A Scipionic connexion may easily be suspected, since in his early career Rutilius famously placed himself under the tutelage of Scipio Aemilianus. On the paternal side the gentile link between the consul of 111 and Aemilianus is remote, going as far back as L. Cornelius Scipio, cos 259 (cf. Diod. 34/5.33.1: ἤν τοῦ γένους ἐξ οὗ τοὺς Ἀφρικανοὺς ...). Yet Pliny implies other familial relations (on the maternal side?) of the consul with Scipio Africanus, Aemilianus' adoptive grandfather (*NH* 21.10: *Africanorum familia*). However, still better documented perhaps is the relationship of the Nasicae with the Metelli, to which family Rutilius was attached, on its fringes at any rate, in his later career. The Scipiones Nasicae and the Metelli seem to have emerged, almost certainly through earlier marriages (*Cic. Red. Sen.* 37; *Red. Quir.* 6), as close associates by the Sullan period (*Cic. Rosc. Amer.* 15 and 77; cf. *Obseq.* 51, with Broughton, *MRR* II, p. 16 n. 2). The association of the two families is further confirmed by the fact that a Metellus, grandson of Metellus Macedonicus, adopted into his family a grandson of Nasica the consul of 111, who thus carried the name of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio Nasica, consul in 52 with Pompey (Dio, 40.51.3; *Cic. Dom.* 123; *Brut.* 212).<sup>11</sup> Admittedly, Rutilius' involvement in this familial clique, itself fairly likely yet still hypothetical, does not ultimately certify Posidonius' authorship of the entire passage. It does seem, however, that this hypothesis best explains the obvious familial bias of the passage in favour of the Nasicae, and the disproportionate attention paid to the memory of the undistinguished consul of 111.

Furthermore, if anybody had a reason for adopting this chronology of Rome's decline into his historiographical scheme, Posidonius would certainly have been the

<sup>10</sup> Pace Busolt (1890), p. 331; Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 210; Càssola (1982), pp. 767f. Of the consul of 111, Diodorus merely says that ὁ τοῦτου υἱός ... φιλοσοφήσας (34/5.33.8); nor does *Cic. Tusc.* 4.51, '*qui hoc Stoicorum verum esse declaravit, numquam privatum esse sapientem...*', attest any philosophical direction of the consul of 138.

<sup>11</sup> On the Scipionic pedigree of the Nasicae, see the table in Botteri (1980), p. 80; for possible indications of the personal link between Rutilius and Nasica Serapio, cos 111, see Càssola (1982), pp. 767f.; Malitz (1983), p. 364; Lewis (R), pp. 74f.

one. For the very choice of the destruction of Carthage as the beginning point of decline must have better served the philosopher than anybody else: as much for practical as for literary purposes he chose to begin his *Histories* from where Polybius finished (T1a-b EK), and that, as it happens, was the destruction of Carthage in 146. If the history of Rome in Polybius was that of its rise to world power, the work of his successor should, as Posidonius probably saw it, be that of its decline.<sup>12</sup> Diodorus himself was not always in concert with this Posidonian programme: under Polybius' influence, he had already been speaking of Rome's moral decline before the end of the Third Punic War (31.24; cp. Plb. 31.25). However, by no means did Posidonius so entirely fall prey to his own scheme as to deny that in reality the Roman power had not then been declining at all in a literal sense, but had been continuously expanding eastwards as well as westwards up to his own day; and he was acutely aware that it had inevitably been accompanied by the comparative diminution of Rome's old rivals in the Hellenistic East. Hence Posidonius' choice was to speak of 'Rome's decline' not primarily in terms of *Weltpolitik* but in terms of morality: that Rome was outwardly expansive yet internally rotten, or probably on the way to being rotten. But for Posidonius such internal degeneration would also be the eventual cause of the fall from world prominence. The Hellenistic kingdoms had, in his view, long been enfeebled by luxury and moral decay (FF 54; 56; 61-63; 71-72; 74; 77 EK; cf. Diod. 33.3-4a; 6-6a; 9; 12-13; 22-23; 34/5.14; 34) and were only waiting to be dominated by other powers such as Parthia (F63 EK; cf. Diod. 33.18) and, more critically, Rome, which was less subjected to such vices - as Scipio Aemilianus is vividly made to demonstrate to Ptolemy VIII Physcon (F58 EK; Diod. 33.28b; cf. FF254; 265 EK). Yet Rome's freedom from moral failure was only relative, and now that the city had in its turn come to be more exposed to such vices, who knows what would happen next? The cracks seemed already to be appearing, and this train of thought, probably influenced above all by the contemporary upheavals of the Mithridatic Wars, is also intrinsic to much of the Roman narrative in the *Bibliothèque* from the Lusitanian War

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<sup>12</sup> Harmatta (1971), p. 21, rejects the assumption that the destruction of Carthage occupied an important place in Posidonius' view of history. But the general line of argument in his article is demonstrably confused and self-contradictory.



to the beginning of the Civil Wars (33.2; 27; 34/5.29; 30b; 38; 36.8-9; 37.2-3; 29-30; cf. F78 EK).

Yet here is a snag. The aetiological link between τρυφή - *luxuria* and individual/ communal/ national decline is clearly the underlying theme in both the extant fragments of Posidonius and the Diodoran narrative which on other philological grounds can be considered as substantially based on the philosopher. Nowhere, however, is such a purely ethical dimension apparent as far as Diodorus' presentation of Nasica Corculum's polemic is concerned, and here also lies a critical difference between this Diodoran passage and the comparable chronology presented by other authors such as Sallust (*Cat.* 10; *Jug.* 41), Florus-Livy (1.31.5; *Oros.* 4.23.9) and Velleius (2.1.1-2). For the latter authors are primarily or exclusively concerned with *avaritia* and *luxuria* as immediate products of the annihilation of Carthage, and only with its impairing effect on the *felicitas* of Rome, exemplified by internal discord, as *the* ultimate consequence. The fate of Rome's subjects and allies, on the other hand, mattered little. St Augustine, too, who happens to offer the closest parallel to Diodorus even to the point of confusing the first two Nasicae, speaks only of *luxuria*, *avaritia* and civil wars, whatever his source was (*CD* 1.30-31).<sup>13</sup> The Diodoran version, on the other hand, is all about the hardcore politics of class *concordia* (ὁμονοεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους; ἐπικίνδυνοι δημαγωγίαι καὶ χώρας ἀναδασμοὶ ...) and of empire management (τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπεικῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἄρχειν: ὧν οὐδὲν κάλλιον ἐστὶν πρὸς ἡγεμονίας διαμονήν τε καὶ αὐξήσιν), and these preoccupations seem to be more apparent in the *Bibliothèque* as a whole than in the attested fragments of Posidonius.<sup>14</sup> Yet the complete lack of any discussion of

<sup>13</sup> We need not doubt that our Diodoran passage on the Scipiones Nasicae appeared in the narrative of the year 111 in the lost original, and that the careers of the first Nasica and Nasica Corculum were mistakenly merged. The thesis proposed by Botteri (1980), pp. 79f., that the Nasica Serapio introduced at the beginning of the passage does not refer to the consul of 111 but to the murderer of Ti. Gracchus, is far less plausible, since it would require a significant amendment to the present text such as an insertion of ὁ τούτου δὲ υἱός after Οὐαλερία. Furthermore, despite Botteri, *ibid.*, οὐ μόνον γὰρ τῇ πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβείᾳ ... fits perfectly in with the context of the preceding passage and thus does not justify any *lacuna* in between. Cf. Augustin. *CD* 1.30 for a similar confusion of the Nasicae - Augustine's passage is parallel to that of Diodorus, which raises a curious question: was this same mistake merely Augustine's own, or already present in his source, which if so could not be Livy? Did Diodorus and Augustine share the same source for this particular passage?

<sup>14</sup> For references to other sections of the *Bibliothèque*, see Chap. 4, pp. 127ff.



individual ethics (such as *τρυφή* and *ἡδονή*), as opposed to public (*δημαγωγία*, *παράνομία*), in the aetiological explanation of Rome's decline in the current Diodoran passage would be rather surprising had it been a faithful reproduction of Posidonius, or even his likely source Rutilius Rufus, both of whom had a lot to say about the contemporary state of Roman morals (FF78; 265-267 EK; Rutilius FF 4-7 Peter).<sup>15</sup> The notion that an absence of external threat and a long period of peace first causes moral decay in a society and eventually brings about a crisis is more clearly articulated in the aetiology of the First Sicilian Slave War (34/5.2.1; 2.26), the account of which in the *Bibliothèque* as a whole is taken for Posidonian (see Chap. 5), as well as of the Social War (37.2.1-2; 3.1); and, if one needs a final proof from attested Posidonian evidence, in the fragment of the war between the Apameans and the Larissaeans (F54 EK).<sup>16</sup>

In short, 'moral decay' is a missing link in the more concrete theory of cause and effect in Nasica's polemic. Was it Diodorus who 'edited' his source, by omitting the Rutilian/ Posidonian theme of social decay within Rome?<sup>17</sup> And who was responsible for drawing readers' attention to the impact of Rome's imperial policy on the Italians and provincials, an aspect which is altogether neglected by other Latin authors? It is certainly true that Rutilius, Posidonius and Diodorus all had one reason or another to insert the Italian and provincial aspect into Nasica's 'prophecy' (see Chap. 4). Yet on the lexical level, both *παράνομία* and *πλεονεξία*, a characterisation of the Roman provincial magistrates, have a particularly Diodoran ring: *παράνομία* is one of his favourite words, used one hundred and twenty three times in the *Bibliothèque* (TLG), and in one passage the historian, departing from his current source

<sup>15</sup> Strasburger (1965), p. 47, and Sacks (1990), pp. 46f., by attributing both the present passage and the later narrative of the Social War to Posidonius' authorship, somewhat carelessly place them into the same philosophical context. It is true that the aetiology of the Social War also points out the rise of class tension in Rome (37.2.2), but the fundamental cause of the war, as its author saw it, was Rome's moral decay (see Chap. 4) - very much a Posidonian obsession in historical causality yet altogether missing in Nasica's polemic as presented by Diodorus. Desideri (1972), pp. 483f., actually noticed the lack of an explicit connexion between greed and political crises in this passage, yet failed to give any further consideration. For the frequency of occurrence of the words *τρυφή* and *ἡδονή* in Posidonian fragments, see the table in Chap. 2, p. 57.

<sup>16</sup> That is *not* to say, however, that this moralist view of historical causality was unique to Posidonius (cf. also Plb. 6.57; !Diod. 7.12.8); see Chap. 4, pp. 123f.

<sup>17</sup> Sacks (1990), pp. 46 ff., and id. (1994), p. 218ff., correctly points out that Diodorus generally minimises the causal connexion between *τρυφή* and the decline of empire.



Polybius, actually criticises ‘present-day Romans’ for their πλεονεξία (31.26.2).<sup>18</sup> This alone does not prove Diodorus’ own authorship of this portion of Nasica’s prophecy, yet it does demonstrate that our historian, in great sympathy with whatever he had as his source, did further reworking on it. Moreover, I do not think that this view of the Empire, attributed to Nasica Corculum, overtly contradicts, as has often been thought, what Diodorus himself had to say about Roman imperialism at the beginning of Bk. 32:

οἱ τὰς ἡγεμονίας περιποιήσασθαι βουλόμενοι κτῶνται μὲν αὐτὰς ἀνδρεία καὶ συνέσει, πρὸς αὐξήσειν δὲ μεγάλην ἄγουσιν ἐπικεῖα καὶ φιλανθρωπία, ἀσφαλίζονται δὲ φόβῳ καὶ καταπλήξει: τούτων δὲ τὰς ἀποδείξεις λάβοις ἂν ταῖς πάλαι ποτὲ συσταθείσαις δυναστείαις ἐπιστήσας τὸν νοῦν καὶ τῇ μετὰ ταῦτα γενομένη Ῥωμαίων ἡγεμονίᾳ (32.2 and 4).

This is not so much a theory of ‘empire management’ as an apparently cynical criticism of what Diodorus (and probably a good many others) conceived as Rome’s new policy of brutality, marked by the destruction of Carthage, Numantia (cf. 34/5.4) and, not least for the Greeks, of Corinth (cf. 32.4.5; 27.1-3).<sup>19</sup> That there was indeed such a criticism in the Greek world at the time of the Third Punic War is attested by Polybius (36.9.5-8), and their shared memory would certainly have been transmitted to our historian too.

Nasica’s definition of the Roman *imperium*, that its ‘strength should be judged not by the weakness of others, but by showing itself greater than the great (ἐκ τοῦ φαίνεσθαι τῶν μεγάλων μείζονα)’, will also support my hypothesis of Diodorus’ reshaping an existing ideology into his own mould. This definition has often been linked with Posidonius’ rather Platonic reflection on the rule of the wise over others (F284 EK; cf. also F60 EK on the Mariandynians), or even with a dubious reconstruction of Panaetius’ ‘political theory’ (cf. Cic. *Rep.* 3.36). Yet there is no evidence that these Posidonian citations reflect the philosopher’s view of the Roman

<sup>18</sup> See Chap. 4, p. 132.

<sup>19</sup> Despite Sacks (1990), pp. 44-46, and *id.* (1994), p. 217f., who argues that Diodorus in this passage modified his earlier ‘model for empire’ to fit the contemporary reality of Rome’s hegemony by presenting φόβος as a method for preserving its empire; cf. Botteri (1980), p. 83.

Empire, and the attempt to see any Panaetian doctrine behind Cicero has been notoriously open to doubt;<sup>20</sup> the expression ‘greater than the great’ may probably look more like a resonance of the imperialist ideology among Rome’s ruling élite (cf. Cic. *Off.* 2.75: *ut imbecillitate aliorum, non nostra virtute valeamus*). On the other hand, the formula τῶν μεγάλων μείζονα is a curious inversion of a statement in a Diodoran fragment that probably refers to the defeat of M. Porcius Cato, cos 114, by the Scordisci in Macedonia (cf. Liv. *Per.* 63; Flor. 1.39.4; Eutrop. 4.24; Amm. Marc. 27.4.4; Dio, F26.88). It reads: ‘the Scordisci ... demonstrated that even Rome was holding supremacy not through its own might but through the weakness of others (καὶ τὴν ‘Ρώμην ἐπικρατεῖν οὐ διὰ τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἄλλων ἀσθενείαν)’ (34/5.30b). This particular expression finds a very close parallel in another book of the *Bibliothēke*, where Timaeus, not Posidonius, is believed to be the main source: ‘he (sc. Agathocles) preserved his own power not by the might of his forces, but by the weakness of his subjects (τὴν δ’ ἰδίαν ἰσχὺν οὐκ ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δυνάμεως, ἀλλ’ ἐκ τῆς τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἀσθενείας περιεποιεῖτο)’ (20.89.5). I suggest, therefore, that the definition of the benevolent empire, as it is put into Nasica’s mouth, is again a Diodoran paraphrase of an imperial ideology that originated from the ultimate Roman source of the whole passage.<sup>21</sup>

Another point to raise, and one which seems to have been often overlooked in past scholarship, is the reason why this theory of Roman decline appeared on the occasion of the death of a relatively inconspicuous consul of 111. The proper chronological context of the debate between Cato and Nasica is the late 150s, and it is fairly likely that Polybius himself had already treated the incident (see above). Whether Diodorus, while following Polybius, also included this episode in the lost

<sup>20</sup> Cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.297; Strasburger (1965), pp. 44f., on his rejection of the ‘Panaetian hypothesis’ in Cicero’s *De republica*, and *ibid.* n. 16, for bibliography.

<sup>21</sup> Theiler (F173 Th) and Malitz (1983), pp. 213f., simply thought the fragment on the war with the Scordisci in 114 to derive from Posidonius; yet curiously both neglect the above passage from Bk. 20. It is true, on the other hand, that Posidonius was certainly interested in the habitation of the Scordisci and their appetite for silver (FF 240a; 272; 277a EK), and his observation of their piratical character is also echoed in Diod. 34/5.30a. Thus we may suppose the presence of multiple influences in this small fragment as in many others: Posidonius’ ethnographic expertise, Diodorus’ own sentiments towards Rome as well as his predilection for rephrasing rather than simply copying, and their Roman source (Rutilius?) which provided basic information of the war in 114.



portion of Bk. 32 is an insoluble question, and I dare not build a hypothesis upon hypothesis. Yet even if he did so, which would have meant that he took up the same episode from two different sources in two different contexts, that should not be a surprise: for there is in fact such an instance, in which Diodorus repeated the same anecdote concerning Cato's indignation at the luxurious tendency prevalent in Rome, once when his current source was Polybius (31.24; cf. Plb. 31.25.5-5a), and at another when he was following Posidonius, who, in his turn, had probably used the same Polybian source (37.3.6).<sup>22</sup> For Posidonius, on the other hand, the debate fell slightly outside the chronological scope of his work. Yet Nasica Corculum was still politically active even after 145, so Posidonius could have included his earlier, famous opposition to the destruction of Carthage in the post-145 context; or still better, why not at the very beginning of the *Histories*? We know when his *Histories* began, but not how. Yet to judge from the highly didactic nature of his history writing, and from the fact that he was consciously resuming the task of Polybius (cf. T78; FF49; 217; 271), it is wildly unlikely that the *Histories*, in a Xenophontic manner, lacked a preface, in which an ancient historian would lay out his (moral, in the case of Posidonius) programme at the outset. Although we should not risk making further assumptions as to the content of a Posidonian proem, it is easily imaginable that such a preface would have been a more suitable context to formulate 'the chronology of Rome's decline' than this excursus pertaining to the year 111. Or it may perhaps be that Posidonius, a less Romanocentric historian than Polybius despite his chosen opening point of the year 146, said little about 'Rome's destiny', either for the better or for the worse, in his proem.<sup>23</sup> Yet as it is, it has to remain a matter of curiosity

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<sup>22</sup> See Chap. 4, pp. 108f.

<sup>23</sup> Posidonius was an Asiatic Greek by birth, and the range of topics covered by the extant fragments clearly shows that the perspective of his *universal* history was not exclusively or even mainly formed around Roman affairs, far less so at any rate than that of his predecessor Polybius. He may well have been pro-Roman, but not necessarily Romanocentric - this confusion also emerges from Bowersock (1965), p. 123. Furthermore, Athenaeus explicitly states that 'Posidonius ... composed his *Histories* in a way not foreign to his philosophical direction, describing many customs and manners among *many peoples* (ἐν ταῖς Ἱστορίαις, αἷς συνέθηκεν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίως ἥς προήρητο φιλοσοφίας πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἔθιμα καὶ νόμιμα ἀναγράφων)' (T80 EK). Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.67f., and *id.* (1989), p. 39, suspects that Athenaeus' characterisation of the *Histories* was taken directly from Posidonius' original - which makes me further wonder if this statement did not originate in the lost preface of the work.

whether it had actually some relevance to Posidonius' own preface to the work, or whether he was merely reproducing not only the views but even the arrangement of the material in his source - that may well have been Rutilius, who saw fit to introduce the 'chronology of decline' at this point, because of his personal connexion to the consul of 111 and that of the dead consul to his grandfather Nasica Corculum.

We may finally conclude that a Posidonian origin of the tribute to the Nasicae can be upheld not so much by the first-hand evidence that we have, as by the elimination of the less probable possibilities. On the other hand, it is certainly undeniable that much of our Diodoran passage appears to mirror a rather conservative ideology within the ruling classes, and that it probably came from those quarters which held such beliefs. The assertion of the patrician wisdom in preferring paternalistic imperialism to Cato's crude nationalism may, perhaps, be an example. The most clear representation, however, of its political tendency is the stern defence of Nasica Serapio the Pontiff, exalted by Diodorus for his killing of Ti. Gracchus, who 'was aiming at tyranny', and for his patrician *gravitas* (βάρος) after the murder. Although widespread (e.g. Cic. *Off.* 1.76; 109; *Brut.* 212; *Tusc. Disp.* 4.51; Vell. 2.3.1-3; but cf. Quintil. 5.13.24), this was not necessarily a universally shared view, even among the ancients. The author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* presents a partisan tradition of the event from the other extreme (4.22.31; 55.68), and Plutarch's judgement on Nasica is no less hostile to him (*TG* 20-21), although in another passage Plutarch probably shared a common source, whatever it is, with Diodorus (cp. *TG* 21 and Diod. 34/5.7.3 on Scipio Aemilianus' reaction to the news of Tiberius' death); for Appian, this first use of *vis* in Roman politics was a downright μύσος, and marked the very beginning of the subsequent internal troubles (*BC* 1.2-3; 6; 16-17; 121). In Sallust we even find an interesting antithesis to the Diodoran passage: that the assassination of Tiberius, and not his agrarian reforms, was a typical symptom of Rome's malady after the elimination of Carthage (*Jug.* 42.1-4; cf. 31.7). That is all that the Diodoran passage implies, it is true, and it offers little evidence for its Posidonian origin or any other particular authorship. However, its conservative bias and obvious hostility towards Tiberius well conform to the rest of the 'Gracchan fragments' in the *Bibliothèque* and, by and large, of the Roman narrative in general,



thus suggesting that they eventually came from the same origin. In the following section I shall deal with Diodorus' treatment of those individuals whom he, or his source, blatantly branded as 'dangerous demagogues'.

## 2. ἐπικίνδυνοι δημαγωγαὶ καὶ χώρας ἀναδασμοί: FROM THE GRACCHI TO DRUSUS

THE GRACCHI Even the most casual reader of Diodorus cannot miss the harshly anti-Gracchan bias in his narrative, which already manifests itself in the fragments concerning Ti. Gracchus' tribunate in 133. This hostility is generally believed to have already been present in Diodorus' supposed source, Posidonius. For the philosopher, it is assumed, had an intimate relationship, most probably through his teacher Panaetius, with younger Romans in the ambit of Scipio Aemilianus, many of whom would by definition have belonged to the conservative elements of the nobility often referred to (mostly by Cicero) as Optimates. Posidonius, therefore, would have unhesitatingly transmitted the views of the Gracchi prevalent among those friends.<sup>24</sup> However, in view of the very fluid nature of Republican politics, shaped more by the vested interests of old boys' networks and their *clientelae* than by ideology, it is obviously misleading, and not very practical at any rate, to define precisely who, among Posidonius' Roman friends, were those supposed *optimates*. In fact, it has in general been a notoriously elusive problem to draw a clear-cut line between who were Optimates and who were not. Not surprisingly, few, if any, of the names that actually emerge from the *testimonia* on Posidonius' friendship would fall into the category of 'reactionaries' or 'hardliners'. From Posidonius' earlier Panaetian connexion, we may name with certainty Rutilius Rufus (T13 = F 41c; F78 EK; cf. Athen. 6.274C-D) and probably Aelius Tubero too (T12 = F86a EK), both opponents of the Gracchi but certainly not senatorial diehards; the Marcelli (FF86e = 257-261; 271 EK), whose *res gestae* Posidonius probably included in the *Histories* as excursuses; Pompey (TT 35-39 EK), Cicero (TT 29-34 EK) and possibly C. Aurelius Cotta (cf. T32d EK),

<sup>24</sup> See above; *CAH*<sup>2</sup> IX, p. 66, cites one of the fragments on Tiberius in the *Bibliothèque* as Posidonius' description, without even naming Diodorus at all. For a famous rejection of the hypothetical 'Scipionic circle', see Strasburger (1965), pp. 41f.

admirers if not scholarly devotees of the late philosopher in Rhodes.<sup>25</sup> Pompey and Cicero in fact feature most prominently in Posidonian *testimonia*, yet it is plainly nonsense to judge these two in terms of Optimate/ *popularis* ideologies. And finally, many of these 'friends' whose names are known - Rutilius, Tubero and Cicero - were *novi homines*. All these indications will rather discourage the assumption of an imaginary affiliation of Posidonius with nameless 'hardliners', and thus the building up of a Posidonian hypothesis for the Gracchan fragments solely on this basis.

Furthermore, one of the attested fragments of Posidonius suggests that the philosopher's own sociological and philosophical interpretation of history would have led him to approve of Tiberius' attempt at land redistribution. In that fragment Posidonius praises the rustic virtues of the early Romans, including their pursuit of agriculture (μετὰ τῆς κατὰ γεωργίαν ἀσκήσεως) (F266 EK). He was very probably acutely aware of the problems arising from the shift from the traditional peasant economy to the more concentrated estate management by a few absentee landowners: the aetiology of the First Sicilian Slave War, of which the theoretical foundation almost certainly lies in Posidonius (see Chap. 5), is largely about such large-scale *latifundia* in the province, the abominable conditions of the slaves operating there and, above all, the explosive nature of the state of affairs. According to Appian (*BC* 1.9) and Plutarch (*TG* 8), precisely those problems were what Tiberius hoped to tackle with his agrarian bill, which sought essentially the same ends as the earlier attempt by Laelius, friend of Scipio Aemilianus, circa 145. Plutarch, allegedly on the authority of C. Gracchus himself, famously tells us that Tiberius first perceived the need for reforms when he was traversing Etruria, on the way to join the Numantine campaign, and discovered all the land there deserted or cultivated only by slaves (*TG* 8.9); curiously enough, Appian even cites Tiberius' specific reference, presumably in the Assembly, to the Sicilian Slave War and similar dangers in future.<sup>26</sup> Therefore it is hard to find any reason why Posidonius, in defiance of his own moral convictions,

<sup>25</sup> On Posidonius' possible acquaintance with Tubero, see Chap. 4, p. 109; on Posidonius and the Marcelli, see Chap. 6, p. 188.

<sup>26</sup> Yet see also the archaeological evidence which rather points to some measure of *continuatio* of small, traditional farmsteads in various parts of Italy at the time of the Gracchi - against the picture of *latifundia* in later authors such as Appian and Plutarch - in Frederiksen (1970-71).



which would by no means have opposed to Tiberius' programme *per se*, should have accepted without reservation whatever his supposed 'friends' might have said.<sup>27</sup>

It is true that Diodorus' treatment of the elder Gracchus is not altogether harsh. Our historian (34/5.5 = F110a *FGH Anhang*), in agreement with other authors such as Appian (*BC* 1.9; 17), Dio (24.F83.1), Velleius (2.2.1-2) and Ps-Victor (*Vir. Ill.* 64.1), points out not only his maternal lineage from Scipio Africanus but his own intellect (σύνεσις; cf. Vell.: *ingenio florentissimus*), education (παιδεία; cf. Dio: τῆς παιδείας) and eloquence (cf. App. *BC* 1.9: εἰπεῖν τε δυνατώτατος; Auct. *Vir. Ill.*: *eloquentiae gratia*).<sup>28</sup> There is also a deliberate contrast made between the two Gracchi in Diodorus, in much the same way as in Plutarch (*TG.* 2), Florus (2.2-3) and Dio (25. F85.1), who emphasise the noble character of Tiberius while attributing to Gaius those features commonly held as typical of a 'demagogue' - although Plutarch quickly drops that charge in his *Life of C. Gracchus* (*CG* 1). However, the fact remains that the overall judgement on Tiberius' tribunate in the *Bibliothèque* is more than unfriendly, and short of accepting or rejecting offhand a Posidonian hypothesis on such evidence, this antipathy has to be accounted for. There are in my view a few possible answers, with varying degrees of conviction:

<sup>27</sup> Thus the doubt raised by Botteri (1979), pp. 144f., about an uncritical acceptance of partisan views by Posidonius is justified; cf. Busolt (1890), p. 330. For Ti. Gracchus' motives, see Cic. *Har. Resp.* 43; *Brut.* 103; cf. Richardson (1980), pp. 5f.; Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), p. 378 n. 7. The problem of Tiberius' (alleged) proposal of redistributing *ager publicus* to impoverished Italian allies, mentioned by Appian, *ibid.*, is outside the scope of the present study: cp. Plut. *TG.* 9.5-6; in general see Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 1ff.; *CAH IX*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 63f.; Scullard, *op. cit.*, p. 379 n. 9.

<sup>28</sup> The fact that Posidonius ridiculed Polybius for exaggerating the *res gestae* of Ti. Gracchus, father of the tribune, in the Celtiberian War (F271 EK), need not rule out a Posidonian authorship of the tribute to the consul of 177 and 163 in this fragment; here the philosopher's criticism is chiefly directed against his predecessor Polybius. More curiously, the language and content of this prosopographical sketch of the tribune shows considerable resemblance to that of Livius Drusus in a later passage: cp. Τιβέριος ὁ Γράκχος ἦν υἱὸς Τιβερίου τοῦ δις ὑπατευκότος καὶ πολέμους ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ μεγάλους κεχειρικώτος, ἔτι δὲ καλῶς πεπολιτευμένου ... ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τῶν γονέων ἐπισημοτάτου γένους πεφυκῶς ἰδίᾳ πολὺ προεῖχε τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν τῇ συνέσει τε καὶ λόγου δεινότητι καὶ τὸ σύνολον πάσῃ παιδείᾳ, καὶ δυνάμενος παρρησίαν ἄγειν ... (34/5.5); Μάρκος Λίβιος Δροῦσος ἀνὴρ νέος μὲν ἦν τὴν ἡλικίαν, κεκοσμημένος δὲ πᾶσι τοῖς πρωτείσι. πατρός τε γὰρ ἦν ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις δι' εὐγένειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν θαυμαστῶς ἀγαπωμένου, αὐτός τε ὑπῆρχε λόγῳ μὲν δεινότατος τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν ... (37.10.1); see below on Drusus. In both passages the choice of words seems to be Diodorus' own rather than that of his source.



1) The anti-Gracchan bias in Diodorus did not derive from Posidonius but from another conservative source. A few contemporary Roman accounts are known to us, and the *Annales* of Calpurnius Piso Frugi and those of C. Fannius, or the autobiography of Aemilius Scaurus, in all of which the Gracchi would have been subjected to a negative judgement, might immediately come to mind. Yet the likeliest alternative would be the historian Sempronius Asellio, whose account of Ti. Gracchus is attested by two extant fragments. Of his own view of the Gracchi, however, we can tell very little; if Appian and Dio are any guide - behind whose accounts Asellio may partly lie (cp. Asellio FF6-7 Peter and App. *BC* 1.13: escorted by multitude to his house; 14: begged for protection of his son; F6 and Dio, 24.F83.8) - their narratives show hardly any conservative bias. Furthermore, this possible relationship between Asellio and the Diodoran passages is rendered all but impenetrable owing to the high likelihood that Rutilius, and even Posidonius too, were influenced by Asellio through oral and/or literary media: not only was Asellio a military tribune with Rutilius under Scipio Aemilianus at Numantia (F6 Peter), but these two, as well as Posidonius, belonged to the same Polybian school of history in one way or another (F1 Peter). Finally, Diodorus' direct use of Rutilius' Greek work is certainly a valid option, though there is no solid evidence for it. Besides, it is still far more plausible that, if the Diodoran passages do ultimately go back to Rutilius, there lies Posidonius *en route*.<sup>29</sup>

2) It reflects Diodorus' own interpretation of the Gracchi and their tribunates. We shall deal with this point below.

3) It was not so much the aims of Tiberius' agrarian bill but the measures he took to attain his ends which Posidonius found reprehensible, or at least agreed with his source(s) to be reprehensible: the legality of the removal of his colleague M. Octavius (34/5.7 = F110d-f *FGH Anhang*) remained particularly controversial (Cic. *Mil.* 72; *Leg.* 3.24; Plut. *TG* 11; 14-15; Liv. *Per.* 58; Flor. 2.2; Oros. 5.8.3; Vell.

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<sup>29</sup> Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), *passim*, have been the chief proponent of 'an alternative Roman source' for the Diodoran passages. Calpurnius Piso Frugi assigned the *pudicitiam subversam* of the Romans to the year 154 (F38 Peter), in a marked contrast to Diodorus' choice of the destruction of Carthage (see above). This fact alone will count out Piso Frugi from our *Quellenforschung*, and we need not doubt that Diodorus' source for the passage on Nasica Corculum was identical with that for the Gracchan narrative. For the likely association of Sempronius Asellio with Rutilius and Posidonius, see Chap. 4, pp. 112f.



2.2.3; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 64.4); such an action would certainly have antagonised a constitutionalist lawyer like Rutilius, and so would probably Tiberius' attempt at re-election to the tribunate (cf. App. *BC* 14), which was severely condemned in the *Bibliothèque* (34/5.7.2-3). In fact these actions did lead Rutilius' mentor in legal matters P. Mucius Scaevola, then consul, effectively to withdraw his earlier support for the Gracchan bill (Cic. *Acad.* 2.13; Plut. *TG* 9) by defending the murderers of Tiberius (Cic. *Dom.* 91; *Planc.* 88; cf. Plut. *TG* 18-19; Val. Max. 3.2.17; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 64.7).

However, in the *Bibliothèque* there is in fact more than just a criticism of the way Tiberius tried to push through his agrarian reforms. Unlike the far more sympathetic accounts by Plutarch (*TG* 8-0) and Appian (*BC* 1.7-11) of Tiberius' programme, redistribution of land is directly linked with demagoguery and categorically rejected as a menace to the state in Diodorus (34/5.33.6: *δημαγωγίαι καὶ χώρας ἀναδασμοὶ καὶ συμμάχων ἀποστάσεις μεγάλαι ...*). This view is demonstrably closer to Cicero's opposition to land distribution as detrimental to state *concordia* (*Off.* 2.78-80; cf. *Sest.* 103; *Rep.* 1.31; but see also *Leg. Agr.* 2.10), yet none too apparent in and even potentially incongruous with the attested Posidonian evidence (see above). If, therefore, the philosopher was indeed immediately responsible for these statements in the *Bibliothèque* (which may after all be the case), one must conclude that he, despite Galen's praise of his veracity (T58 EK), undeniably failed to judge his source(s) in a more critical light, or 'in a way not foreign to his philosophical direction' (T80 EK). Yet even these potential 'sources' for Posidonius need not be hard-line 'Optimate' to be anti-Gracchan: of the known Roman acquaintances of Posidonius, Aelius Tubero was one who, like P. Mucius Scaevola, turned from an initial supporter of Ti. Gracchus' plan to an opponent (Cic. *Lael.* 37; *RE* Q. Aelius Tubero 155, col. 535; cf. Cic. *Brut.* 117). Later Cicero firmly sides with those senatorial hard-liners in his naïve judgement on the assassination of Tiberius (*Cat.* 4.13; *Mil.* 72; *Brut.* 103 and 212; *Lael.* 37 and 41; *Off.* 1.76 and 109; *Tusc. Disp.* 4.51); and the orator was one of the eager Roman followers of

Posidonius, to whom he *could* also have communicated such views.<sup>30</sup> As a matter of fact truly *popularis* traditions, such as those found in the no less partisan author of *Rhetorica ad Herennium* or Sallust (see above), belong to a minority in Latin historiography. Perhaps few if any of such traditions were available at the time of Posidonius' composition, with the possible exception of C. Licinius Macer, whose *annales*, however, may not have reached the Gracchan period.

Yet the most influential of all the Roman friends of Posidonius would again have been Rutilius Rufus. While certainly aware of the implications of the changing conditions of the Italian economy on the Roman war machine, he had personal connexions with those on the anti-Gracchan side: we have already named the Gracchan apostates Mucius Scaevola, Rutilius' teacher of law, and Aelius Tubero, an old Stoic friend. Binding all these three by political, cultural and/or familial ties is another opponent of Tiberius, Scipio Aemilianus himself. Through his marriage with a Livia Rutilius was also brother-in-law of Livius Drusus, cos 112, who as a colleague in C. Gracchus' tribunate sided with the Senate in 122 (Val. Max. 8.13.6; Plin. *NH* 7.158; *RE* Rutilius, col. 1271). All these indications are again rather circumstantial, yet their joint force carries certain conviction against other possibilities. Furthermore, Rutilius' own traumatic experience at the 'Gracchan' court of C. Gracchus, may well be a further explanation of the even more intense criticism of the younger Gracchus in the *Bibliothèque*. While there is no extant portion of the Diodoran text on Tiberius' actual proposals, a Constantinian excerpt has preserved a harshest verdict, articulated in a single sentence, on the *Leges Semproniae* proposed by his younger brother during his two tribuneships (34/5.25 = F111b *FGH Anhang*):

Having taken away the judicial power from the Senate and having assigned knights to the juries, he (sc. C. Gracchus) made the worse part of the state master of the better; having disrupted the existing harmony (σύμπνοια) of the senators with the knights, he rendered the mass bitter to both; and preparing for his own domination (δυναστεία) through the dissension among all, and squandering the public treasury on shameful and inappropriate expenditures and favours, he made everyone to look to himself alone; having cast the provinces to

<sup>30</sup> A somewhat similar view of the agrarian legislation is also echoed in Tacitus (*Ann.* 3.27), who is however far more subtle than Cicero in condemning the senatorial instrument Drusus, father of the younger Drusus, as well.



the recklessness and rapacity (τόλμη καὶ πλεονεξία) of the publicans, he caused just hatred among the subject peoples towards the empire; and having curried favour with the soldiers through his legislation relaxing the austerity of the old discipline, he introduced disobedience and anarchy (ἀπειθεία καὶ ἀναρχία) into the state.

This harshness of tone would make even the senatorial tradition on Gracchus in Livy (Liv. *Per.* 60-61; Flor. 2.3.1-3 and 5.3; Oros. 5.12.3-6) and Velleius (2.6.1-5; 7.4) look rather tame by comparison. Among other things, the transfer of the *quaestio perpetua de repetundis* from the Senate to the equestrian order, characterised by Varro (*Vita Pop. Rom.* 114.2) and Florus (2.5.3) as having created a *bicipitem civitatem*, would have been a primary target of a Rutilian polemic. For one hardly needs to be reminded of the scandal and injustice involved in the prosecution and condemnation of Rutilius for extortion in 92 under the equestrian jury (Cic. *Brut.* 115; *De Or.* 1.229-231; *Pis.* 95; *Font.* 38; Liv. *Per.* 70; Vell. 2.13.2; Val. Max. 2.10.5; 6.4.4; Dio, 28.F97.1-3; Quintil. 5.2.4; 11.1.12; Sen. *Ep.* 24.4; Flor. 2.5.3; Oros. 5.17.12-13), which in all probability Posidonius recounted in his *Histories* on the authority of Rutilius' work itself (F78 EK). The same hostility towards the Roman knights and the publicans, who came from that *ordo*, permeates other passages of the *Bibliothèque* that on other literary evidence can easily be ascribed to Posidonius (34/5.2.3 = 2.31; 36.3.1; 37.5.1-4), and these passages, or at least part of them, may for the same reason ultimately go back to Rutilius himself. Admittedly, this view is not at all a novelty, but a rather hackneyed thesis in past scholarship. Yet arguably it remains, in my view, a valid and most plausible interpretation. For a 'Rutilian hypothesis' best explains not only the anti-Gracchan bias in the present fragments but also the obvious hostility towards Saturninus and Marius in the subsequent narrative, sympathy towards the Metelli (Numidicus and Pius), and a warm treatment of the tribune Livius Drusus (see below).<sup>31</sup>

<sup>31</sup> The context of the Posidonian fragment F78 EK being the trial of Rutilius is suggested, with some reservations, by Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 171; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.330f.; for Rutilius as Posidonius' direct source for the criticism of Apicius, cf. Lewis, (R) p. 82 and n. 52; Münzer, *RE P. Rutilius Rufus*, col. 1278. Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 147, on the other hand, maintain that the 'Rutilian hypothesis' does not necessarily vindicate Diodorus' use of Posidonius, since Diodorus could have had direct access to the Greek version of Rutilius' *De vita sua*, τῷ τὴν 'Ρωμαϊκὴν ἱστορίαν ἐκδεδωκότι τῇ 'Ελλήνων φωνῇ (Athen. 4.168E) - a suggestion theoretically possible of course, but hard to prove.

As for Posidonius' political perspective, we never hear of his allegiance to a particular group or ideology within Roman society, despite his social affiliation with some members of its aristocracy. None of the attested Posidonian fragments betrays anything of the sort, let alone any enmity towards the *equites* as a class on his part.<sup>32</sup> As one would naturally expect, he seems to have been not so much a political historian as a moral philosopher: that fact is well suggested by most of the extant fragments, although we must also note that, since he was a disciple of Panaetius, political science and Stoicism may well have been closely connected in Posidonius too.<sup>33</sup> Yet the philosopher must also have made his share of literary, if not politically critical, contributions to our current passages: one may well argue that the deliberately sensationalised description of the public reaction to Gaius' return from his Sardinian quaestorship (34/5.24 = F111a *FGH Anhang*) is a strong reminiscence of Posidonius' account of Athenion when he was returning home from his embassy to Mithridates (F253.36ff. EK).<sup>34</sup> The unusually judgmental yet not very informative summary of the Gracchan bills in the above quotation would hardly have been a faithful reproduction of Rutilius the jurist, if he had ever written an account of them. Furthermore, the highly theatrical and individualised presentations of the banishment of Popilius Laenas (34/5.26 = F111d *FGH Anhang*), of Gaius' reaction to the voting at the assembly (34/5.27 = F111e *FGH Anhang*: Τὸ μὲν ξίφος ἐπίκειται τοῖς ἐχθροῖς; cf. 37.9) and of his show of frantic desperation and insanity (34/5.28a = F111f *FGH Anhang*: εἰς λύτταν τινὰ καὶ μανιώδη διάθεσιν ἐνέπιπτε; ἀδημονῶν καὶ ποινηλατούμενος; cf. Liv. *Per.* 61 and Vell. 2.6.1: *furor*), compare well in their emotionally charged language with the accounts of the First Sicilian Slave War (see Chap. 5) and the Social War (see Chap. 4), which are substantially based on Posidonius, or that of the death of Marius, which is preserved in varied forms by Diodorus and Plutarch (see Chap. 6) - while these narratives contrast sharply with the more nonchalant presentation of the same events by Appian (*BC* 1.21-23; 25), or even

<sup>32</sup> Pace Desideri (1972), pp. 488-493, who most vigorously advocated an anti-equestrian bias in Posidonius himself; cf. Sacks (1990), pp. 211f. (Appendix 2).

<sup>33</sup> See Kidd., *Comm.*, 2.888 and 914; for the (Panaetian?) application of Stoicism to statesmanship, see Hahm (1989), pp. 1359f.

<sup>34</sup> So Malitz (1983), p. 372; cf. Reinhardt, *RE Poseidonios*, cols. 635f.; Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1983), p. 76.



with Plutarch, who could otherwise have exploited such literary devices more than Diodorus (*CG* 4-6; 13, a variant tradition). Furthermore, it would not be a mere coincidence that the Diodoran fragments on C. Gracchus contain a perfect historical *exemplum* of the effect of gold on human behaviour (34/5.29 = F111g *FGH Anhang*) - a well-known theme in Posidonius' psychological and aetiological explorations (FF 239-240 EK; cf. F170; F272 EK; Diod. 5.35-8; 37.30).<sup>35</sup>

On the other hand, this multiple stratification and modification of sources makes it inevitably harder to assess how much of the emotional presentation and the harshness of judgement in the Gracchan narrative of the *Bibliothèque* is owed to Diodorus himself. On the literary side, much of the presentation of the material, as has just been observed, seems to reflect the rhetorical art of Posidonian historiography. At the lexical level, however, there are certainly many traces of revision/ rephrasing by Diodorus, although our historian customarily does that whether or not he himself is deeply committed to the subject matter.<sup>36</sup> Yet on the political side too, the bitter assessment of the Gracchan enterprises does not apparently disagree with the general political perspective of Diodorus, who, like many other historians before him, often viewed democracy with some ambiguity (15.45; 18.18) or open hostility (1.74.7; 15.40 and 58). The critical view of such individuals as Cleon (12.55.8ff.), Cleophon (13.53.1-3), other Athenian demagogues (13.102.5) and the Sicilian tyrant Agathocles

<sup>35</sup> Plutarch certainly had a source/ sources independent from the senatorial tradition to which Diodorus belongs: whereas Diodorus presents a friend of C. Gracchus (Lucius Vitellius) as pouring molten lead into his chopped head in order to receive the gold of its weight as a reward (34/5.29), the same crime is attributed in Plutarch (*CG* 17) to a friend of the anti-Gracchan consul L. Opimius (Septimuleius); other traditions agree that this man, identified as a Septimuleius except in Diodorus, was a friend of Gaius (Val. Max. 9.4.3; Plin. *NH* 33.48; Auct. *Ill. Vir.* 65.6). Compare also Plut. *CG* 13 with Diod. 34/5.28a and App. *BC* 1.25 on Q. Antyllus. On the relationship between precious metal and human behaviour, see Kidd, *Comm., ad loc.*, and *id.* (1989), pp. 47f.; Bringmann (1986), pp. 37ff., for the rôle of wealth in Posidonian moral aetiology.

<sup>36</sup> See above, note 28 on the account of Ti. Gracchus' career. Busolt (1890), p. 330, associated the metaphorical use of δοῦλος (34/5.6.1: μήτε χάριτος μήτε φόβου δοῦλον) with Posidonius' Stoicism (with reference to F59 EK); see also Malitz (1983), p. 140 and n. 40. Yet Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 140, rightly recognise a fairly common use of the word with the same moral connotations among other Greek authors and in non-Stoic contexts. In fact Diodorus himself uses δοῦλος in a similar sense a few times in other books of the *Bibliothèque* (see Chap. 5, p. 160). However some words can seldom be found outside the Gracchan narrative, and ἀμετάπτωτον (34/5.7.2) indeed occurs only in this passage of the *Bibliothèque*; incidentally, it is a word that happens to appear in a Posidonian fragment in a non-historical context (F49 EK: τίς ἂν διορίζοι τὰς εὐκράτους, αἵπερ εἰσὶν ἀμετάπτωτοι).



may well have been mainly influenced by the Thucydidean and Timaeian traditions, yet he himself seems to have been generally hostile towards demagogic figures (15.58; 19.1.5ff.).<sup>37</sup> Furthermore, the present narrative on the political struggle of the Gracchi has earlier, if less colourfully presented, parallels in his descriptions of the Athenian demagogue Ephialtes, who received punishment for attempting to deprive the Areopagus of its judicial power and to destroy the famous customs of their ancestors (τὰ πάτρια καὶ περιβόητα νόμιμα καταλῦσαι) (11.77.6), and the Syracusan Tyndarides, who, taking advantage of the redistribution of land, attempted to set up a tyranny and were murdered by the χαριέστατοι of the city (11.86.4-5). At many points, it seems, Greek political thoughts tending in a conservative direction meet their Roman counterparts.<sup>38</sup>

Yet there may well be more to be said about how our historian specifically saw the Gracchan incidents as they were presented in his source. Rutilius, the ultimate source, understandably detested the knights, and would have been sensitive to the issue of the *repetundae* courts which, under equestrian control, caused him to live in exile in Smyrna. Yet Diodorus himself belonged, on his part, to the very group of people - the provincials - who could have been no less indignant at members of this *ordo* and Rome's *laissez-faire* attitude towards their economic activities, all the more after their takeover of the extortion courts under the *lex iudiciaria* proposed during Gaius' second tribunate (Cic. *Verr.* 1.38; *Leg.* 3.20; Plut. *CG* 5; App. *BC*, 1.22; Vell. 2.6.3 and 32.3; Flor. 2.5.3; Plin. *NH* 33.34; Tac. *Ann.* 12.60). Unlike the Asiatic provinces, the annual tithe on which was auctioned at Rome (cf. 36.3.1; 37.5.1-4), western provinces were not brought under the 'rapacity' of the equestrian *publicani* by the Gracchan legislation (Cic. *Verr.* 2.3.12; *Att.* 1.17.9; Fronto, *Ver.* 125N; cf. Cic. *Leg. Agr.* 2.83; *Att.* 5.16.1f.). But the activities of the equestrian businessmen in the

<sup>37</sup> A few exceptions to this rule include Diocles, the Syracusan δῆμαγωγός and 'lawgiver' (13.34.6-35.6) and, above all, Dionysius the tyrant.

<sup>38</sup> For these reasons I am not at all sure of the validity of the claim by Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), pp. 136f., and *id.* (1983), *passim*, that the political vocabulary of Diodorus' Gracchan narrative, such as δημοκρατία, ἀριστοκρατία and τυραννικῶς are used to express the specifically Roman political reality of partisan struggles, reflecting the Roman origin of his immediate source; an application of Greek political thought to Roman institutions is not at all uncommon among Greek authors, without mentioning the famous example of Polybius (6.11-18).



provinces of Sicily (34/5.2.3 = 2.31) and probably of Spain (5.36.3-4; 38.1-3) are also censured with equal vehemence in the *Bibliothèque*.<sup>39</sup> Diodorus himself may well have been responsible for the criticism of the abuse by 'the Italians' in Spanish mines (see Chap. 4); for the anachronism of his reference to the Gracchan jurors at the extortion tribunals at the time of the First Sicilian Slave War, both Rutilius and Diodorus could be suspected of blame (see Chap. 5). For the same reason, therefore, the two authors would both have had enough reason to be sympathetic towards the tribune Livius Drusus and his programme.

LIVIVS DRVSUS                      Like Appian (*BC* 1.35-38), Diodorus certainly recounted the ill-starred tribunate of M. Livius Drusus in 91 as part of the prelude to the Social War (as is clearly shown by 37.11, the Italian oath sworn to Drusus), of which the Diodoran account as a whole was modelled on a lost narrative of Posidonius (see Chap. 4). Despite a probable analogy drawn between Drusus' attempted reforms and those of C. Gracchus (37.9; cf. 34/5.27),<sup>40</sup> despite an obvious linguistic parallelism between the career portraits of Ti. Gracchus and the tribune of 91 (see above) and, finally, despite occasional accusations of his excess in other sources, Drusus the man and the Drusi as a family receive a fairly favourable treatment in the *Bibliothèque*, far more so than Tiberius Gracchus or any other predecessors in the office (37.10). One of the reasons may well be again Rutilius' familial connexion with the tribune himself, who turns out to be his nephew by marriage (see above). In fact M. Livius Drusus, father of the younger Drusus, too, is the subject of a remark that is more than complimentary (37.10.1: πατρός ... ἐπιφανεστάτου καὶ παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις δι' εὐγένειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν θαυμασιῶς

<sup>39</sup> However, literary and archaeological evidence rather suggests that during the 2nd century BC the operations of the Spanish mines were on the whole carried out by individual entrepreneurs rather than by large publican companies (*societates publicanorum*); see Richardson (1976), pp. 140-147. On the Roman taxation in the Sicilian and Spanish provinces, see Richardson, *op. cit.*, pp. 145 and 147ff.; Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), p. 183.

<sup>40</sup> The precise context of this fragment is unclear. Given that the order of the fragment is correct, this reference to C. Gracchus may have been made in conjunction with Livius Drusus (cos 112), anti-Gracchan tribune in 122 and father of the younger Drusus. Yet, as Walton (1967), p. 210 n. 1, points out, it seems far likelier that 'the passage is relevant here as a parallel to the attempted reforms of Drusus'. But see also Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 133, who claim that this fragment originally belonged to the narrative of the Gracchan reforms proper in Bk. 34/5 rather than here.

ἀγαπωμένου; cf. Plut. *CG.* 8-10, but contra Tac. *Ann.* 3.27), and this no doubt indicates that the unfriendly colleague of C. Gracchus featured favourably in the lost portions of Diodorus' Gracchan narrative. It would be hardly surprising if all this stems from cronyism in Rutilius, coupled with his anti-Gracchan sentiments, and was transmitted, in effect, through Posidonius.<sup>41</sup>

It requires, however, some caution to rely solely on the ideological, cultural and/or familial alignment between the individuals involved - Drusus, Rutilius and Posidonius - to establish a convincing route of source transmission behind a given narrative. For, by the same logic, it may also be possible to link Posidonius to Drusus through alternative routes other than Rutilius: if we were to take Cicero's reference to the philosopher as *familiaris omnium nostrum* (*ND* 1.123 = T32d EK) as more than a brazen exaggeration, the *omnes nostri*, Posidonius' friends, must naturally have included C. Aurelius Cotta, close friend of Drusus, to whose circle Sulpicius (who later found himself supporting Marius) also belonged (*Cic. De. Or.* 1.25ff.; cf. *Brut.* 182f.); and unlike Rutilius, Cotta was a direct eyewitness, and active supporter, of Drusus' enterprises, with the result that, after the assassination of the latter, he was promptly prosecuted by the anti-Drusan commission under Q. Varius Hybrida and followed Rutilius into exile. Therefore Cotta, if he did indeed know Posidonius personally, could just as easily as Rutilius have communicated favourable views of Drusus' tribunate to him. Furthermore, there can even be a more serious alternative, the existence of which is firmly attested and which is in literary form: for the work of Sempronius Asellio covered as far as the assassination of Drusus (F11 Peter), and the very probable influence of the historian on Posidonius need not have been indirect via Rutilius (see above).<sup>42</sup>

Yet the actual text of Diodorus seems to speak more for Rutilius as the ultimate source. As has been mentioned, the narrative of Drusus' tribunate itself originally formed a prologue to the Social War, with its focus doubtless placed upon his proposal to extend the Roman citizenship to the Italian *socii*. The extant Diodoran

<sup>41</sup> Also Càssola (1982), p. 767; Malitz (1983), pp. 387f.

<sup>42</sup> This fragment (*Gell.* 13.22.8 = F11 Peter), assigned to Bk. 14 of Asellio's *res gestae*, is believed to refer to the murder of Drusus (cp. *App. BC* 1.36); for the terminal date of his work, see Chap. 4, pp. 112f.



fragment no longer preserves any reference to the question of Italian enfranchisement (37.10). Curiously, however, the same passage, badly fragmented though it is, makes specific mention of another focal point of Drusus' programme - that is, his attempt to regain some senatorial control of the extortion courts and to make the equestrian jurors liable to prosecution for judicial corruption (cf. Cic. *Cluent.* 153; *De. Or.* 1.24-25; Liv. *Per.* 70-71; Flor. 2.5.1ff.; App. *BC* 1.35; Vell. 2.13; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 66.4). It reads (37.10.3):

Drusus, when the Senate annulled his legislation, declared that...should the laws he proposed be invalidated, the law on the courts would also be cancelled; and that, if this law had been brought into effect, while no one who had lived an incorruptible life would be liable to accusations, those who had plundered the provinces would be summoned to give an account before the court dealing with cases of bribery.

Strictly moralist yet moderately conservative, Rutilius would hardly have approved of the diehards in the Senate who ended up annulling the Drusan legislation (cf. 37.10.3; Vell. 2.13.2-3; Ps.-Sall. *Ad Caes.* 2.6.4; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 66.10ff.; App. *BC* 1.35f.). Above all, Rutilius was quite likely interested in his nephew's undertakings, and may well have covered the episode in his semi-autobiographical work *De vita sua* - all the more so since it was the very prosecution of Rutilius *de repetundis* and his subsequent exile that directly brought about Drusus' tribunate and his reforms (cf. Vell. 2.13).<sup>43</sup> Thus in the above Diodoran passage, one may easily detect in the phrase τὸν μὲν ἀδωροδοκήτως βεβιωκότα μηδεμιᾶς τεύξεσθαι κατηγορίας a thinly-disguised allusion to Rutilius' infamous trial, or may even hear an embittered cry for justice from the man himself in Smyrna.

At any rate all the prosopographical and constitutional preoccupations apparent in the extant fragment on Drusus seem to reflect a purely Roman political milieu. A Diodoran remark, that ἔδοξεν (sc. Drusus) ἔσεσθαι προστάτης τῆς συγκλήτου (37.10.1), certainly mirrors its origin in the senatorial establishment at Rome, as is attested by a very close parallel in Cicero (*Mil.* 16: *senatus propugnator*

<sup>43</sup> On the relevance of Rutilius' trial to Drusus' proposed *lex iudiciaria*, see also Münzer, *RE Rutilius Rufus*, col. 1275; *Livius Drusus*, col. 865; Lewis (R), p. 82.

*atque ... paene patronus*).<sup>44</sup> Hence neither Posidonius nor Diodorus may have had much to add to the overall assessment of Drusus and his tribunate, but its substance will go back to its ultimate Roman source, that is Rutilius transmitted through Posidonius. On the other hand, the vocabulary employed for the tribute to Drusus and his family, just as its parallel in the character portrait of Ti. Gracchus, is characteristic of Diodorus, containing even such favourite Diodoran *topoi* as εὐγένεια, ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία (37.10.2: πλεῖστον ἴσχυεν ἡ τῶν Δρούσων οἰκία διὰ τὴν εὐγένειαν τῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς πολίτας ἐπιείκειαν καὶ φιλανθρωπίαν).<sup>45</sup> The fact that Diodorus used his own, highly complimentary words in this instance will demonstrate more than his habitual, simple rephrasing of the language used by his sources. His language here seems to be a sign of his strong approval of what he found in his source, namely a favourable picture of Drusus, whose law would have made possible - as our historian may well have been reminded - τοὺς δὲ τὰς ἐπαρχίας σεσυληκότας ἀχθήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰς τῆς δωροδοκίας εὐθύνας.

MARIANI Of the Marians prior to the utter havoc of the 80s, the two most prominent figures feature in the remnants of Diodorus, that is, Saturninus and Marius himself. In view of the overall political and personal bias stemming from Rutilius in Diodorus' Roman narrative, the Marians would have fared as badly as the Gracchi if not worse in the *Bibliothèque* - and so they do, yet only to an extent. Curiously, among Diodorus' 'Marian fragments' for these years, there is no visible outbreak of the hostility, or vehement partisan spirit, that coloured much of the extant narrative on C. Gracchus. For example, the transfer of the charge of supervising corn-supply at Ostia from the quaestor Saturninus to Aemilius Scaurus,

<sup>44</sup> Here προστάτης τῆς συγκλήτου cannot mean *princeps senatus*, but is probably very close to Cicero's metaphorical expression *senatus propugnator* or *patronus*. In the *Bibliothèque* *princeps senatus* is variously rendered into Greek: ὁ τοῦ συνεδρίου προεστῶς (29.8.1: Scipio Africanus); προκαθήμενος τοῦ βουλευτηρίου (31.9.4: M. Aemilius Lepidus); προεκάθισαν τοῦ συνεδρίου καὶ πρώτην ἐπεῖχον γνώμην (34/5.33.1: the Nasicae). For other translations of this specifically Roman term in Greek literature, see Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 151 n. 12.

<sup>45</sup> See above, note 9; on the other hand, there is precious little evidence (if any) that Posidonius himself admired the political goals of the young Drusus, despite the claim by Desideri (1972), pp. 490f.



then *princeps senatus*, which is said to have driven the former to the popular cause (Cic. *Sest.* 39; *Har. Resp.* 43: *dolore factum esse popularem*), is reduced in Diodorus to a little moralising anecdote (36.12: Scaurus is not named): that Saturninus' quaestorship was superseded because of his 'licentious life (βίον ἀκόλαστον)' and 'laziness and shabbiness of conduct (τὴν ῥαθυμίαν καὶ φανυλότητα τῆς ἀγωγῆς)'; and that, however, when he had corrected his licentiousness (τὴν ... ἀκολασίαν) and adopted a moderate life (τοῦ σώφρονος ... βίου), he was raised to the tribunate by the people!<sup>46</sup> All this could ultimately originate from a face-saving *apologia* from the Roman nobility for yet another senatorial failure to maintain the loyalty of a man of its own rank, but the whole *esprit* of the passage, including the ethical lexicon such as ῥαθυμία, ἀκολασία and σωφροσύνη, seems more in tune with the didactic style of Posidonius, or Diodorus, or very probably of both.<sup>47</sup>

The election of Saturninus to his second tribunate for 100 is also explained with much the same naïveté: when Saturninus found himself impeached in front of the senatorial court for his previous insult to Mithridates' envoys, he fell back upon the support of the populace as a wretched suppliant; and, having won the co-operation of the people, he was not only acquitted but also re-elected tribune - according to Diodorus at any rate (36.15).<sup>48</sup> What is curious about this fragment, however, is its relationship to another passage (36.16) that deals with the desperate attempt by Metellus (Pius) to recall his father, Metellus Numidicus, who had been interdicted 'from fire and water' by Marius in association with the tribune Saturninus (cf. Cic. *Sest.* 37; App. *BC* 1.29-32; Plut. *Mar.* 29; Liv. *Per.* 69; Flor. 2.4.3; Oros. 5.17.4; Vell. 2.15.4; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 73.8). Although in the standard arrangement of the

<sup>46</sup> On the political motivations behind the dismissal of Saturninus from his *cura annonae*, see Malitz (1983), pp. 377f., who, however, seems to overdo the 'optimatischen Ton' of the passage.

<sup>47</sup> According to a TLG search, ῥαθυμία, and its cognates, appear twenty-eight times in the *Bibliothèque*, and four times in the passages where Posidonius is strongly suspected to be the source (5.40.4; 33.9.1; 34/5.38.1; 36.12.1); ἀκολασία appears eleven times, of which five are found among the 'Posidonian' passages (33.23.1; 36.12.1 twice; 37.2.1; 37.3.2); and σωφροσύνη thirty-two times throughout the *Bibliothèque*, of which seven are in the 'Posidonian' passages (33.28b.3; 34/5.2.19; 36.12.1; 37.3.6; 37.8.1 and 8.2; 38/9.20.1). σωφροσύνη also has two instances in the attested Posidonian fragments (FF261; 265 EK).

<sup>48</sup> For the sheer violence actually involved in Saturninus' tribunician election in 100 (altogether neglected in our Diodoran passage), see App. *BC* 1.28; Liv. *Per.* 69; Flor. 2.4.1; Oros. 5.17.3; Plut. *Mar.* 29; Val. Max. 9.7.3; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 73.5.

Diodoran fragments the two passages are adjoined one after the other, they were in fact taken from different chronological contexts and preserved in separate Constantinian anthologies. But these two fragments show a striking verbal parallelism, depicting respectively the desperation of the two political enemies, Saturninus and the son of Metellus Numidicus, yet with almost identical words and formulaic expressions:

(Saturninus) τὴν ἐσθῆτα τὴν πολυτελῆ κατέθετο, πιναρὰν δὲ μεταμφιασάμενος καὶ κόμην καὶ πώγωνα τρέφων περιήει τοὺς κατὰ τὴν πόλιν ὄχλους, καὶ τοῖς μὲν πρὸς τὰ γόνατα πίπτων, τοῖς δὲ ταῖς χερσὶν ἐπιφυσόμενος ἐδεῖτο καὶ μετὰ δακρύων καθικέτευε βοηθῆσαι τοῖς ἀκληρήμασιν (36.15.2)

(Metellus Pius) αὐτοῦ κόμην ὑποτρέφων καὶ πώγωνα καὶ πιναρὰν ἔχων ἐσθῆτα περιήει κατὰ τὴν ἀγοράν, δεόμενος τῶν πολιτῶν, καὶ μετὰ δακρύων προσπίπτων τοῖς ἑκάστου γόνασιν ἤτειτο τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς κάθοδον (36.16.1)

The literary intention behind this verbal analogy would not have been to draw a parallel between those two individuals, but far more probably to demonstrate, in a subtle and somewhat sarcastic manner, how identical gestures can illuminate two very different personalities and motives - Saturninus, an unprincipled, unabashed man beseeching τοὺς ὄχλους on the one hand, and Metellus Pius, a tragic hero upholding *pietas*, a most important part of the *mos maiorum*, and appealing to τοὺς πολίτας on the other.<sup>49</sup> This rhetorical play of words would hardly have derived from the Roman source for the narrative, Rutilius, but is likely to be a literary product of Posidonius, in my view, reminiscent of his portrayal of a similar gesture by a Sicilian Nicias (F257 EK).<sup>50</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Diodorus is the only ancient source for this story concerning Saturninus' attack on the Mithridatic envoys and the subsequent accusation made against him, whereas Metellus Pius' 'heroic' struggle to recall his father home is attested by various authors, in much the same manner as it is portrayed in the *Bibliothèque*: see esp. the close parallel in App. *BC* 1.33 (ἰκετεύοντος αὐτὸν ἐν ὄψει τοῦ δήμου καὶ δακρύοντος καὶ τοῖς ποσὶ προσπίπτοντος); Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 63.1 (*lacrimis et precibus*); cf. also Cic. *Red. Sen.* 37; *Red. Quir.* 6; Val. Max. 5.2.7; Dio, 28.F95.1.

<sup>50</sup> This gesture features in the famous Posidonian fragment on Marcellus' capture of Engyium, when the Roman sympathiser of the city, Nicias, pleads with the Roman general to pardon his fellow citizens: ὁ δὲ Νικίας ἐδάκρυσε παρεστώς, τέλος δὲ χειρῶν καὶ γονάτων ἀπτόμενος παρητεῖτο τοὺς πολίτας ... (= Plut. *Marc.* 20)



As to Marius, the extant tradition of the *Bibliothèque* preserves two biographical accounts of substantial length. In this chapter I shall deal with the first account (34/5.38), which recounts Marius' early career and his first pre-eminence during the Jugurthine War.<sup>51</sup> In this fragment the assessment of Marius as a military commander is not totally ill-disposed to him. However, the passage also tells that he was 'thought to have been a *publicanus* (δοκῶν γεγονέναι δημοσιῶνῆς)', and refers to his poor performance in past elections.<sup>52</sup> The equestrian origin of Marius is indicated by several ancient sources, and his political connexions with that order were well-known; yet there seems to have been no secure evidence that he had actually been a tax-farmer, which he was certainly not.<sup>53</sup> To brand somebody a tax-farmer is hardly a compliment in the *Bibliothèque* (34/5.25.1; 36.3.1; 37.5.1-4; see above), and a reference to this unfounded δόξα may well point to Rutilius, an avowed enemy of both Marius and the *publicani*, and a member of the Metellan clique.<sup>54</sup> Yet there also appears to be an added literary flavour from both Posidonius and Diodorus. The use of an obscure piece of information that 'Marius was reputed to have been a tax-farmer' reminds us of a familiar literary device frequently employed by Posidonius: the exploitation of the early life and upbringing of a historical character he describes. Posidonius' primary intention in giving this kind of information was to highlight the natural disposition of that individual, which for the philosopher explained that individual's motivations and the actions he took in his subsequent life. Especially illustrative of this technique is the deliberately scandalous and damning description of the origin and early career of the Peripatetic philosopher-turned-tyrant Athenion, whom Posidonius portrayed as having been a son of an Egyptian slave and illegally

<sup>51</sup> For the second 'biography' of Marius (37.29), see Chap. 6, pp. 191-202.

<sup>52</sup> According to Plutarch (*Mar.* 5.2-5) and Valerius Maximus (6.9.14), Marius barely escaped conviction for *ambitus* after winning last place for the praetorship in 115. Rutilius certainly criticised Marius for obtaining his sixth consulship by bribery (F4 Peter).

<sup>53</sup> For the origin of Marius, cf. Weynand, *RE Supp.* VI, C. *Marius* 14, cols. 1368f. Yet there is another tradition that indicates an even humbler social standing of his family: see Plut. *Mar.* 3.1; *Apophth.* *Mar.* 1; *Auct. Vir. Ill.*, 67.1; *Tac. Hist.* 2.38. Marius' tie with the *equites* was well demonstrated in his involvement in the *repetundae* trial of Rutilius: Dio, 28.F97.3; cf. Rutilius Rufus F4 Peter; *RE Rutilius Rufus*, col. 1275; Desideri (1972), pp. 491f.; Lewis, (R) p. 82.

<sup>54</sup> For Rutilius' trial, see above. Lewis, (R) pp. 86f., also suspects a Rutilian origin - through the intermediary of Posidonius - of the passage in question, yet with reservations.



enrolled into Athenian citizenship before amassing a fortune as a sophist (F253 EK).<sup>55</sup> One might also recall that Eunus, the slave king of the first Sicilian revolt, was a quack soothsayer who would blow fire from a nutshell in his mouth (34/5.2.5-9); or Salvius, the king of the second revolt, who was again 'reputed (δοκοῦντα)' to be skilled in divination and was a flute-player (36.4.4). On the other hand, it should also be noted that the linguistic features of this passage well conform to the rest of the *Bibliothēke*: the universal preoccupation with such concepts as εὐγένεια, εὐεργεσία, φιλοτιμία and ἐπιείκεια throughout the *Bibliothēke*, together with the moral qualities pertaining to them, has already been demonstrated in this chapter, and will be again in others.<sup>56</sup>

On the whole there seems to be a hint of detachment, combined with some political naïveté, and also less Romanness in the fragments on the Marians, at least in comparison with the earlier Gracchan narrative. One may also detect among those passages a few indications of a non-Roman author addressing a non-Roman, presumably Greek, audience: 'for the Romans are excessively god-fearing' (36.13.3: on the death of the plebeian tribune A. Pompeius, allegedly under the curse of the Magna Mater; cf. Plut. *Mar.* 17); 'because of the inviolability of the ambassadors and the customary hatred among the Romans of any wrongdoing towards embassies' (36.15.2: on Saturninus accused of his insult to Mithridates' envoy) - another explanation of the Roman *mos maiorum*, in line with the tradition of Greek historiography on Rome (cf. also 36.14, an explanation on the Roman title *imperator* in an unknown context). All this may well be purely owing to a chance survival of the material. Yet it seems undeniable that the literary, if not political, independence of the

<sup>55</sup> For a detailed analysis of the rôle of one's upbringing and early environment in Posidonius' explanatory model of actions, see Hahm (1989), pp. 1328-1331; cf. also Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1983), pp. 75f.; Bringmann (1986), *passim*. According to Kidd (1989), p. 42, and *id.*, *Comm.*, 2.865f., Posidonius based the story of young Athenion on 'rumour' in order to support his case. The prosopographical study of the archon list of 88/7, the year of *anarchia* (IG II<sup>2</sup> 1714), by Badian (1976), pp. 112f., has shown that most of Athenion's associates in office belong to distinguished families that had already held high magistracies; hence one needs to discount Posidonius' story of Athenion's 'murky origins', too.

<sup>56</sup> εὐεργεσία has one hundred and fourteen instances in Diodorus; φιλοτιμία one hundred and sixty (TLG); for an analysis of εὐγένεια and ἐπιείκεια, see above, note 9. An emphasis on εὐγένεια has also be observed in the obituary of Nasica Serapio (34/5.33.1) and the career portrait of Livius Drusus (37.10.1).



Greek author of the narrative - Posidonius and/or Diodorus - from his ultimate Roman source shows more assertiveness and is more clearly articulated in these fragments.

### 3. ἐμφύλιοι πόλεμοι πολυετείς καὶ φοβεροί: MARIUS, SULLA AND THE CIVIL WARS

The above discussions have been concerned with the signs of literary modification and embellishment, as well as of obvious reduction of the subtle political contexts both by Posidonius and Diodorus. In spite of these signs, however, the fact remains that Diodorus' Roman narrative as a whole, like many other historical writings before and after the period, represents the typical voice of the senatorial class over all its ideological spectrum. And this senatorial - as well as anti-Marian and anti-equestrian - tendency permeates the *Bibliothēke* well down to the beginning of the Civil Wars in the mid-80s. Yet all these political biases need not derive from Rutilius Rufus alone. Although the evidence is not decisive, there may indeed be an influence from Sulla's notorious autobiography too, especially in the narrative of the events of the early 80s (cf. 37.25; 37.29.2). If that is the case, the Sullan influence will almost certainly have been transmitted through Posidonius rather than directly by Diodorus.<sup>57</sup> However, by the time the narrative reaches the final struggle of the younger Marius in 82, these biases seem to fade away, yielding to a more balanced, less partisan presentation of the events described. This fact, together with other evidence that can be found in the organisation of the narrative, marks Diodorus' switch of his source, in my view, from Posidonius to somebody else. Naturally, this hypothesis also involves the controversial question of the terminal point of Posidonius' *Histories*. Thus a detailed analysis of the Diodoran fragments on the Marian and Sullan Civil Wars, and what can be best discerned from them in respect of *Quellenforschung*, will be given in Chapter 6, 'Postposidoniana'.

<sup>57</sup> For the Greek version of Sulla's autobiography and Posidonius' possible use of the work, see Chap. 4, pp. 120f. and Chap. 6, pp. 210-213.

## CHAPTER IV

# Italy and Provinces

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One cannot overstress the importance of Diodorus' account of the Social War, which occupied much of his Bk. 37, both for a better understanding of the Diodoran-Posidonian practice of history writing, and for modern studies of the contemporary historiography of the period in general. It is the earliest extensive account of the war itself, yet several unique features in the interpretation and presentation of the events also distinguish Diodorus' narrative from other ancient traditions on the war. For what could otherwise have been an account of a single war turns out, like Sallust's monograph on the Catilinarian conspiracy, to be a compendium of the whole range of issues of contemporary concern, from the transformation of Roman society (as the author saw it) and the problems of running provinces, to the emerging menace of the First Mithridatic War and the Civil Wars - and this despite the fact that we have only fragments. Therefore the central concern of this chapter will be with the aetiology and narrative structure of the Diodoran account of the Social War, with special reference to the following questions: how Diodorus, and his likely source Posidonius, respectively perceived, through this political and military upheaval on Italian soil, various problems of Rome's management of its empire; what the possibilities are regarding their ultimate source(s); whether there is any detectable difference in perspectives/foci between the two authors concerning Roman treatment of their allies and provinces; and what literary contributions each author is likely to have made to the final shape of the narrative which can best be reconstructed from the surviving fragments. For a start, I shall begin with a close analysis of the difficulties involved in reconstructing the original economy of Bk. 37, with the account of the Social War at its core, and their implications for the question of Diodorus' literary source.



## 1. THE PROBLEMS OF THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The *proöemium* to Bk. 37 (37.1-2.1), which also forms an introduction to the main account of the Social War, has all too justifiably been termed as ‘embarrassingly reminiscent of Thucydides’ opening remarks’. It begins with the phrase ‘οὗτος (i.e. ὁ πόλεμος Μαρσικὸς) γὰρ πάντας τοὺς προγεγονότας ὑπερεβάλετο ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίαις καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῶν πράξεων’ (37.1.1), and the sequence of events that follows is also in accordance with the traditional, hackneyed, line: starting from the Trojan War and the Persian War, leading to Alexander’s seizure of the Persian throne (the Peloponnesian War omitted, however). Diodorus is certainly not mocking Thucydides; as judged from the subsequent elaborate justification of his assertion, he seems ludicrously serious in his intention, to the extent that a man like Lucian would no doubt have ridiculed him in his essay on *How to Write History* (see esp. 15 and 26). Largely because of the preposterous nature of the passage, this notorious proem is generally regarded as Diodorus’ own composition.<sup>1</sup> Yet despite all this literary naïveté, we need not have to credit this proem to - or rather blame it on - Diodorus only because he is supposed to have been less subtle than his suspected source, Posidonius. After all, even Polybius, perhaps one of the foremost followers of the Thucydidean methodology, had not hesitated to put forward a similar claim for the First Punic War (1.63.4-9), the three-year long revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries (1.88.7) and the Gallic War in the years 225-222 BC (2.35.2-3). In addition, there seem to have been direct/indirect influences of Thucydides on Posidonius, too, as has occasionally been suggested.<sup>2</sup>

We have, however, better reasons than its simple naïveté for suggesting that Diodorus himself was indeed the author of the proem. In his typically Sicilian regionalism, our historian does not forget to include in this list of great wars major battles fought on Sicilian soil, that is, Gelon’s defeat of the Carthaginians in 480 (37.1.3) and the First Punic War (37.1.4). Furthermore, it has been pointed out that the numerical figure for troops, vessels and even casualties mentioned in this section

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<sup>1</sup> The proem to Bk. 37 was already recognised as Diodoran by Busolt (1890), pp. 324-326; Sacks (1990), p. 12; Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> For Thucydidean echoes in Posidonius and especially in Polybius, see the brief sketch by Hornblower (1995), pp. 59 and 62ff.



in reference to Gelon's victory fully agrees with the actual account of the battle in Bk 11 (11.20.2; 22.4).<sup>3</sup> One might also detect a certain degree of magniloquence not alien to Diodorus: in this proem alone, for example, he repeats the word ἀνδραγαθία four times, chiefly to describe the valour of the Romans and the Italians; and in the entire *Bibliothēke* this and other words of the same stem appear a hundred times.<sup>4</sup> As for Posidonius, we can find no ἀνδραγαθία in his fragments of secure attribution.<sup>5</sup>

This entire proem comes from the Constantinian anthology *De sententiis*. The immediately following extract from the same work, however, suddenly switches its topic to Cato's denunciation of luxury and Diodorus' praise of those whom he perceived to personify the early Roman virtues (37.3.6-4.1). The gulf of logic between the outbreak of the Social War and 'good old Romans' must be bridged not only by some extracts from other collections of the Constantinian *Excerpts*, but also by the less detailed (in fact more abbreviated) Photian version, the latter of which has reduced the lengthy proem outlined above into a mere six lines: 'τὸν Μαρκικὸν ὀνομασθέντα πόλεμον ... ἐπεὶ σύμπαντές γε Ἰταλοὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίων τοῦτον ἐξήνεγκαν τὸν πόλεμον' (37.2.1). Then Photius goes on to say that the primary cause (αἰτία) of the war was, according to Diodorus, the Romans' fall from simple and disciplined manner of life into luxury and licentiousness:

<sup>3</sup> This section of Bk. 11 is believed to be Timaeian; cf. Sacks (1990), p. 12.

<sup>4</sup> Bk. 1 (6); Bk. 4 (4); Bk. 5 (1); Bk. 11 (7); Bk. 12 (6); Bk. 13 (1); Bk. 14 (1); Bk. 15.55- (9); Bk. 16 (13); Bk. 17 (31); Bk. 18 (4); Bk. 20 (1); Bk. 23 (1); Bk. 24 (1); Bk. 25 (1); Bk. 31 (1); Bk. 32 (1); Bk. 33 (4); Bk. 34/5 (2); Bk. 37 (5) (TLG). Although ἀνδραγαθία can be found in any given book of the *Bibliothēke*, its occurrence seems especially frequent between the last half of Bk. 15 and Bk. 17, as shown above. Its concentration in Bk. 17 in particular is extraordinary (thirty one in this book alone). These books mainly deal with the development of the Macedonian domination, and ἀνδραγαθία is used in particular to praise the qualities of the Macedonians and above all their king, Alexander the Great. Quite understandably, ἀνδραγαθία does not appear in Thucydides' famous introduction, which our historian is emulating here. Throughout his work the cool-headed - and depressing - Thucydides uses this emotionally exalting word on mere six occasions (TLG), and all only in speeches.

<sup>5</sup> The 'Posidonian' fragments in Theiler that contain the word (FF 96a, 96b, 100, 128, 169, 173, 176, 232) are not attested by name and indeed all come from Diodorus. For all its obvious exaggeration, however, Diodorus' introduction still holds good when he argues that 'as the peoples of Italy revolted against Rome's hegemony and those who had been considered the bravest from time immemorial came to discord and rivalry, the ensuing war reached surpassing magnitude' (37.1.6). For the Italic peoples that constituted the nucleus of the resistance - Oscan-speaking population to the south of Italy, its archetype being the Samnites, and the ethnically related groups in the central-west, represented by the Marsi - had indeed been those who had principally supplied trained soldiers to the Roman army; See Salmon (1967), pp. 346-7.



ἀποφαίνεται ... αἰτίαν δὲ πρώτην γενέσθαι τοῦ πολέμου τὸ μεταπεσεῖν τοὺς Ῥωμαίους ἀπὸ τῆς εὐτάκτου καὶ λιτῆς ἀγωγῆς καὶ ἐγκρατοῦς, δι' ἧς ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ἠϋξήθησαν, εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας.<sup>6</sup>

In the single sentence that comes next Photius sweepingly tells how the plebeians came to dispute with the Senate thanks to this corruption, how the Senate then called on the help of the Italians with the promise to grant them the Roman citizenship, and how a war broke out between the Italians and Rome when none of the promises made to the former was realised (37.2.2). Photius' extract, however, without adding any further details on this aetiology, proceeds towards the end of the introduction, which once again clearly shows itself to be Diodorus' own composition: that is, a synchronisation of the Roman consular year and the Olympiad when the Social War flared up - a chronological marker customarily used throughout his universal history (37.2.2). This is followed by another, even closer, imitation of themes in the Thucydidean Archaeology - sufferings (πάθη), captures of cities (πόλεων ὀλώσεις) and all the rest (37.2.3) - going then straight into the actual narrative of the war (37.2.4ff.).<sup>7</sup>

The Constantinian *Excerpts*, being even more fragmented, also do not reveal the logical link between Rome's moral decay on the one hand and the civil strife between the plebs and the ruling oligarchs on the other. Nevertheless a few excerpts from the *De virt.* and the *De sent.* and one from the *De insid.*, the contents of which I shall discuss in detail later, supply a more elaborate version of what Photius, as shown above, has mentioned only summarily: how Diodorus or his source perceived the degeneration of the Roman life as the primary cause of the war. Combined together and rearranged so as to be closer to the original order (see below), this Constantinian version is of considerable length (37.3-11). It starts from tracing Rome's gradual fall

<sup>6</sup> This causal explanation in Photius, as in the corresponding passage of the *Excerpts*, seems replete with lexical entries that are essentially Posidonian, such as ἐγκρατής, εὐτάκτος, λιτός, τρυφή and ἀκολασίας; see below, pp. 104f.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. Thuc. 1.23.1-2: παθήματα τε ξυνηγέχθη γενέσθαι .... πόλεις τοσαῖδε ληφθεῖσαι ἡρημώθησαν. But see Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 119, who suspects that this latter Thucydidean reminiscence, unlike the first one, could be written by Posidonius; certainly Plutarch, who used Posidonius in one way or another, also spoke of the magnitude of the war in similar language (cf. *Sull.* 6.3; *Mar.* 33.1).

from its early practice of order and frugality after a long period of peace, and describes how the unrestrained pursuit of luxury is currently rampant in Roman society (37.3.1-5 = *De virt.*); M. Cato's remark, as mentioned above, on the price of the jars of Pontic fish (37.3.6 = *De insid.*); then Diodorus indulges in a lengthy excursus on what was said and done by a handful of righteous governors, for the sake of illustration (37.5-8 = *De virt.*, *De sent.* and *De insid.*). Finally come three excerpts on the abortive Drusan reforms in 91 that directly triggered the Social War (37. 9-11 = *De virt.* and *De sent.*). Although there are in fact several contextual lacunae between each of these extracts, the ordering of them in current editions of Bk 37 seems by and large secure and justified.<sup>8</sup>

It would also appear, at first, that in terms of content these Constantinian excerpts, like pieces of a mosaic, can be precisely combined with the above-cited ten or so lines of Photius, i.e., from the moral degeneration of the Romans to an allusion to the attempted reforms by Drusus on the eve of the Social War. Even in wording the first lines of the two groups of excerpts display some concordance: compare ἀγωγῆς (Phot.) and ἀγωγαῖς ἀρίσταις (Const.); ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ηὐξήθησαν (Phot.) and ηὐξήθησαν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον (Const.); εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον τρυφῆς καὶ ἀκολασίας (Phot.) and εἰς ὀλέθριον ζῆλον ... εἰς τρυφήν καὶ ἀκολασίαν (Const.). However, this apparent correspondence between Photius and the Excerpts conceals a serious problem of reconstructing the original economy of the narrative. Photius' sweeping description of the cause of the war appears within Diodorus' own introduction which begins and ends with Thucydidean echoes, together with a characteristically Diodoran chronological marker, thus showing consistency of context and style. On the other hand the Constantinian *Excerpts*, fragmented as they are, are apparently too long and too diverse in scope to be merely a part of this coherent introduction. One must also count the sections of the original narrative that were missed out by the *Excerpts*: as

<sup>8</sup> The Catonian episode in 37.3.6 (*De Sent.*) apparently comes within - not after, as arranged in the *Loeb* - the context of the preceding 37.3.5 (*De virt.*), which also discusses 'beautiful boys' and 'a jar of Pontic fish'. 37.4 (*De sent.*) certainly precedes 37.5 (*De virt.*), since in the former extract Diodorus puts a prefatory notice on the digression which begins in the latter fragment. Neither is there any reason to doubt the order of 37.5 (*De virt.*), 6-7 (*De sent.*) and 8 (*De virt.*). The exact location of the 'puzzling' 5a (*De insid.*) on C. Sentius is indeterminable; one cannot however help but accept it as it is arranged in the *Loeb* edition of the *Bibliothèque*.



the obvious contextual gap between 37.8 (*De virt.*) and 37.9 (*De virt.*) indicates, Diodorus' account may well have included more references to virtuous Romans (see below); furthermore, the three fragments on Drusus' tribunate clearly show that the lost portions of the narrative included a full account of the annual events within Rome, probably conceived as a prelude to the Social War. A mere introduction, from the proem to the chronological marker, could hardly have accommodated all this.<sup>9</sup>

There are some possible solutions. One is that Diodorus, anticipating what he/his source is going to say in the main narrative (i.e., the remnants of which are those from the *Excerpts*), included a summary of it in the introduction (i.e., the part preserved by Photius). Or otherwise Photius for his part may have summarised all that had been part of the main narrative and inserted it into the introduction, thus rearranging the original order of the Diodoran account. This procedure is equally possible, since Photius and the fragments of the *Excerpts* in question closely parallel each other. If so, the original version would not have contained the ten lines that follow αἰτίαν δὲ πρώτην γενέσθαι ... and instead, after or at the end of the introduction, would have marked the beginning of the narrative with a transitional phrase like 'the primary cause of the war was so-and-so', in a way similar to the introduction to the First Sicilian Slave War: 'ὁ δουλικὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπανέστη πόλεμος ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης' (34/5.2.1). Whatever the case, the original structure of the earlier part of Bk. 37, as manifested by the order of the extant fragments, displays a rather extraordinary nature - a pompous preface, followed by a lengthy digression on social conditions in Rome and affairs in provinces, after which comes an account of the political strife in the City before the narrative reaches the aetiology of the Social War proper (37.12ff.). This arrangement of the material would hardly be suitable to an annalistic framework as that of the *Bibliothēke*, implying a different economy of historical narrative employed by Diodorus' source, which, from other literary evidence (to be discussed below), can best be identified as Posidonius' *Histories*. The meagre evidence from the *Histories* of course offers no reliable clue of the framework the philosopher employed for the work as a whole. Yet it is still discernible from the

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<sup>9</sup> Hence Walton's (1967) note (p.197 n. 5), which marks the 'corresponding' sections of Photius and the *Excerpts* in these particular passages, is misleading, if not a mistake; see also Chap. 1, pp. 32f.

secondary tradition for which Posidonius is almost universally acknowledged to be the principal model - Diodorus' account of the First Sicilian Slave War being the best example - that he arranged his material in broadly chronological order, but flexibly adopted a κατὰ γένος organisation of historical incidents as occasions arose.<sup>10</sup>

A further indication of Diodorus' adopting not only the content of his source, but also its narrative structure emerges towards the end of the account of the Social War. The closing section of the narrative (preserved by Photius), which summarily traces the final stage of the war, makes it fuse into the Civil Wars from 88 onwards, which were precipitated by the internal contention over the supreme command of the First Mithridatic War.

TABLE 2: PHOTIUS, *BIBLIOTHECA*, 391A.41-393A.11

391a.29		'From Bk. 37, 38 and the following'
A		'διὸ καὶ τοῦ Μαρκικοῦ πολέμου σχεδὸν ἤδη διαλυομένου', a dispute arises between the rival contenders over the command against Mithridates
		C. Caesar Strabo and C. Marius contest the command (88)
	391a.41-392b.33 (=Diod. 37.2.12-2.14)	Sulla joins the army at Nola and strikes neighbouring cities with fear; sets out for Asia Minor
		C. Norbanus rescues Rhegium from Italian siege (87)
		Civil strife rekindles at Rome between Sulla and Marius (the Younger) (82)
		'καὶ οὕτω τέλεον τῇ ἐμφυλίῳ συναπέσβη στάσει μέγιστος γεγονώς καὶ ὁ Μαρκικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος' (= the battle of the Colline Gate in 82)
B	392b.34-393a.11 (=Diod. 38/9.15)	'μεγάλῃ στάσει ἐμφύλιος ἤδη διαλυομένου τοῦ Μαρκικοῦ γέγονε πόλεμος' between Sulla and the younger Marius (82)
		Marius the Younger commits suicide at Praeneste, and thus the Civil War ends

Bringing the narrative as far down as εἶτα τῆς περὶ Σύλλαν καὶ Μάριον ἐμφυλίου στάσεως ἀναρριπισθείσης 'Ρωμαίοις ... τὸ δ' ὑπόλοιπον ἐπικρατήσαντι Σύλλα προσεχώρησε, it concludes with a 'postscript' that corresponds to Diodorus' own

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Malitz (1983), pp. 64 and 145. Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 206f., argues for an organic structure of the Diodoran/ Posidonian narrative of the First Sicilian Slave War, that is, uninterrupted by accounts of other contemporary events; this view is reflected in his re-arrangement of the Diodoran fragments of the war as F108 *Anhang* of Posidonius (*FGH*). Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 80, on the other hand, is more inclined towards a κατὰ χρόνον format of the *Histories*, arguing that a continuous Posidonian narrative irrespective of annual divisions is a wrong impression given by Photius' epitomisation.



proem in its emphasis on the greatness of the war: ‘καὶ οὕτω τέλεον τῇ ἐμφυλίῳ συναπέσβη στάσει μέγιστος γεγονώς καὶ ὁ Μαρσικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς πόλεμος’ (37.2.12-2.14 = Section A in Table 2).

This historical perspective deserves careful consideration. It is true that Marius allied himself with the tribune Sulpicius with an eye on the command of the Mithridatic War, and later with Cinna in order to obtain support from the Italians; it is also true, as reported in the narrative, that Italic peoples were divided between the Sullan and (for the most part) Marian camps during the ensuing Civil Wars, each compelled to back their own ‘warlord’ in the hope of winning further privileges (37.2.14; cf. 38/39.13).<sup>11</sup> What is striking here, however, is the interpretation of the activities of the Italian remnants during the Civil Wars (down to the battle of the Colline Gate in 82) as an extension of the Social War. Clearly for the author, the end of one also marked the end of the other. This was indeed a novel idea, or at least not the conventional one among ancient historians: Florus (2.6.14) and Orosius (5.18.26) both close their accounts of the war as early as Pompeius Strabo’s capture of Asculum in 89. Livy, bringing the story a little forward, brings down the curtain with the death of Poppaedi Silo (*Per.* 76; cf. 80), as does Appian (*BC* 1.53); the latter clearly states that the Civil War broke out immediately after the Social War (*BC* 1.55: ἀρχὴ δ’ ἐς ταῦτα καὶ πάροδος, εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τῷ συμμαχικῷ πολέμῳ, ἥδε ἐγένετο).<sup>12</sup>

The question is: who was the architect of this ‘unique’ thesis? In fact the state of the text of the surrounding passages in Photius’ *Bibliotheca* poses complex questions not only about this source problem, but also the overall structure of the narrative of the war in Diodorus’ original work. The thesis in question appears at the end of Section A (Table 2). At the beginning of this section, however, one finds a remark that seems to conflict with it: that several years back, a contest for the eastern

<sup>11</sup> Salmon (1982), pp. 130ff.; for a more complex side of the Italian situations during this period, see the same author (1967), pp. 378-387.

<sup>12</sup> Salmon (1967), pp. 377ff. and p. 378 n. 2, criticised the modern view that ‘the Social War instead of coming to an end simply faded away like the old soldier and became merged with the Civil War...’ The basis of his criticism is the fact that the majority of the ancient sources drew a clear distinction between the two wars. Whether his thesis is true or not, Salmon somehow failed to refer to this Diodoran passage, which precisely presents such a view; cf. Salmon, *op. cit.*, p. 377 n. 3 for bibliography.

command divided Rome into two rival parties - a struggle that marked the *beginning* of a six-year long period of internal strife - 'since the Marsic War was nearly coming to an end by now (διὸ καὶ τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου σχεδὸν ἤδη διαλυομένου)'.<sup>13</sup> Certainly this latter view is more consonant with the one shared by other ancient historians. Section B, which immediately follows Section A, starts with yet another problematic statement, declaring that 'as the Marsic War was coming to an end by now (ἤδη διαλυομένου τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ ... πολέμου),' civil strife broke out between Sulla and C. Marius, the son of Marius. This opening sentence is almost identical in language with that of Section A, but the period and the protagonists it points to are not: that is, the consulship of Marius the Younger in 82. The final remark of the section, 'thus the civil war ended', unequivocally refers to the death of this Marius in 82. The later part of Section A is less articulate. If one follows the normal course of events in history 'the rekindling of civil strife between Marius and Sulla' must refer to the struggle described in Section B, between Sulla and the son of Marius in 82. Or else, it may be vaguely summing up the events that followed Cinna's capture of Rome in 87 supported by the elder Marius; or it may indeed be that Photius simply confused Marius' violent return to Rome in 87 with the civil war by his son in 82.<sup>14</sup> Whatever the case, the fact remains that the epilogues of both Section A and B still point to 82, the year of Sulla's final victory, although in Section B it is not made to coincide with the end of the Social War. Thus in Photius' extract it looks as though the Social War had ended at least three times. Who made these apparently discordant statements? Are they all attributable to a single authority?

The current *Loeb* edition of the *Bibliothèque* allocates Section A to Bk. 37 (37.12-14). The passages which surround this section suggest that Photius' abbreviation is particularly heavy-handed here: the style is somewhat repetitive

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<sup>13</sup> σχεδὸν indicates a certain degree of doubt hanging around the terminal date of the war; the same ambiguity can also be found in Plutarch, who states that at that time 'the Social War was *thought* to be at an end' (*Sull.* 6.9). Probably this uncertainty was common among the ancients (as well as modern) - even though many of them saw a virtual conclusion of the conflict at this stage - since the war certainly did not have a clear-cut finale.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. the confusion of the two Marii in Memnon's work, as transmitted by the same Photius (!) (25.3 *FGH* 3B.434): Σύλλας μὲν οὖν οὕτω λαμπρῶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ Μάριος αὐθις τῆς πόλεως ὑπεχώρησε; see a similar confusion of the two Marii in Julius Exuperantius (4 and 7).



(καταπληξάμενος appears twice), and several events are often crammed into a single sentence, a typical sign of Photius' making a hasty summary of a far lengthier original.<sup>15</sup> Yet if the entire period summed up in Section A were to be added to the material already in Bk. 37, that would certainly go beyond the capacity of a single book, and would leave almost nothing to speak of in the subsequent book. In fact, the corresponding passages from the *Excerpts* show that, between the years 88 and 82, Diodorus in fact recounted all the troubles within and on the periphery of the Empire, including the greatest event of the time, the First Mithridatic War (37.26-28; 38/9.7-8); and that the main events in the City that fall into the second half of Section A - whether it points to 87 onwards or to 82 - stretched well over to the following Bk. 38.<sup>16</sup> Possibly perplexed (with reason), the *Loeb* splits up the two continuous sections A and B, assigning the former to Bk. 37 and the latter to Bk. 38. Photius himself, at the beginning of the entire extract, superscribes the original book number as 'Bk. 37 and afterwards', without specifying what had belonged to which book. All this compounds the complexity of the problem of reconstructing the organisation of the original narrative.

Yet this difficulty can be solved by assuming that Section A is *not*, as it appears, a gross abbreviation by Photius of the whole narrative of the Civil Wars between 88-82, which in Diodorus' original text occupied much of the subsequent Bk. 38. Sections A and B in effect trace the same course of events. Therefore the simplest and yet best explanation is that these two extracts, which repeat the same episode, came from different sections of Diodorus' original text: Section A was an excursus attached to the main narrative of the Social War, which however looked forward to the course of events down to the end of the Civil Wars in 82; and Section B was part of the main narrative of the Civil Wars, placed in a proper chronological order in Bk. 38. The fact that in Section B, unlike in Section A, the end of the Civil Wars is not made to coincide with that of the Social War, also implies a different interpretation of the events described - and hence different authorship for the passage. Such an

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<sup>15</sup> Cf. Henry in the *Budé*, vol. 6 (1971), p. 172 n. 1.

<sup>16</sup> The early chapters of Bk. 38/9 in the *Loeb*, comprised largely from the more detailed Constantinian *Excerpts*, deal with the return of Marius and Cinna to Rome; see Chap. 6, pp. 202ff.

arrangement of the material as in Section A would hardly be possible for a strictly *κατὰ χρόνον* type of history writing. Yet Posidonius, being a philosopher rather than a historian and certainly not an annalist, could easily have adopted a scheme not strictly chronological, and even *κατὰ γένος*.<sup>17</sup>

With this interpretation, we can also make a better sense of the postscript: 'thus finally, together with the flames of civil strife, the war which had reached greatest magnitude and was called 'Marsic' was quenched' (37.2.14). The phrase 'the greatest/very great war (*μέγιστος... πόλεμος*)' in this epilogue certainly conforms to Diodorus' own proem to Bk. 37 rather than to his main source Posidonius, who probably saw the episode merely as part of larger phenomena.<sup>18</sup> There is little doubt that our historian himself, ever eager to boast the magnitude of the Social War, inserted this remark as a final reminder of his claim, thus 'sandwiching' as it were the main narrative of a Posidonian origin between a prologue and an epilogue of his own. Yet according to the chronology conventional among other sources which set the end of the war in 89/8, the Social War lasted for no more than three years, far too short for Diodorus to claim that it was the greatest war in history. However, he probably found in his source, Posidonius, a continuous narrative of the Social War, uninterrupted by accounts of other contemporary events; and this source claimed, in summarised form, that the remnants of the Italian insurgents of the Social War had remained armed even after 88 (despite Cicero's *triennium sine armis*) and fought on right up to the end of the Civil Wars in 82. Thus Diodorus, by adopting this Posidonian perspective - unique among ancient (if not modern) historians - in its entirety contrary to his normal practice of chronological divisions of events, was able to put forward a unified theme of his own: the unsurpassed greatness of the war.<sup>19</sup>

<sup>17</sup> That Posidonius seems at this point to have anticipated the entire course of the subsequent Civil Wars, focusing on the activities of the Italians during this period, turns out to be of crucial importance for establishing the much-debated question of the terminal point of his *Histories* (see also the other two anticipatory passages in 37.29 and 38/9.6). This question will be discussed in Chapter 6.

<sup>18</sup> 'The greatest of wars' (Walton); 'le conflit...le plus grave' (Henry). The superlative *μέγιστος*, however, is most probably absolute here. For Posidonius' inclusion of the Social War in the pan-Mediterranean context, see below, pp. 133f.

<sup>19</sup> It is also interesting to observe that the designation of the Social War as 'Marsic (*ὁ πόλεμος Μαρσικός*)' appears only in the proem and in this epilogue. In both Latin and Greek traditions this designation is not attested before Cicero (*Agr.* 2.90; *Phil.* 8.31; *Div.* 1.99; 2.54; 2.59). One may appropriately wonder whether the war was already known as



I have so far presented some problems of the organisation of the narrative of the Social War, and their relevance to the question of Diodorus' source. The following sections will further investigate this *Quellenfrage* from literary and philosophical points of view, illustrating at the same time how Diodorus himself treated his source in order to accommodate it to his own working method.

## 2. ROME, PROVINCES AND *QUELLENFORSCHUNG*

As has already been remarked, the moral decay of the Romans is presented in Diodorus as the principal cause of the Social War. Instead of explaining the logical link between the two, however, the Constantinian fragment sets about describing in detail all the hedonism that came into fashion at Rome (37.3). As also reflected in the Photian parallel, the Constantinian passage is laden with the ethical language Posidonius is apt to use, such as τρυφή (luxury), ἀκολασία (licentiousness), ἐπιθυμία (lust), πολυτέλεια (extravagance) and ἡδονή (pleasure).<sup>20</sup> Yet what strikes one most is the colourful description of the lavish dinners at Rome (37.3.3):

διὸ καὶ δείπνων πολυδαπάνων παραθέσεις ἐπεπόλασαν καὶ μύρων θαυμαζομένων εὐωδία καὶ στρωμνῆς ἀνθινῆς καὶ μεγαλοπλούτου παρασκευαὶ τρικλίνων τ' ἐξ ἐλέφαντος καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν πολυτελεστάτων ὑλῶν περιττῶς δεδημιουργημένων κατασκευαί. τῶν δὲ οἶνων ὁ μὲν μετρίως τέρπων τὴν γεῦσιν ἀπεδοκιμάζετο, Φαλεγεῖνος δὲ καὶ Χῖος καὶ πᾶς ὁ τούτοις ἐφάμιλλον ἔχων ἡδονήν, ἰχθύων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων χρηστῶν τὰ πρωτεύοντα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν ἀνέδην ἀνηλίσκοντο.

This picture, quoted in full, is strongly reminiscent of those fragments in which Posidonius vividly depicted costly feasts of a similar kind, mostly preserved by Athenaeus (FF 53; 61a-b; 62a-b; 65; 67; 72a-b EK), some of which I have already

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*bellum Marsicum* at all at the time of Posidonius' writing, or whether Diodorus was following contemporary usage rather than Posidonius. Compare also the designation of the first slave uprising in Sicily as ὁ δουλικὸς πόλεμος, which appears only in Diodorus' own introduction (34/5.2.1); see Chap. 5, p. 172.

<sup>20</sup> For a guide, see Table 1 in Chap. 2, p. 57 Theiler includes this entire chapter as F211b, basing his judgement on the sentiments and language expressed in this extract: see his *Erläut.*, p. 119f. He also remarks that at the beginning of his original account, now replaced by Diodorus' own proem, Posidonius may have re-introduced the anecdote on a hermaphrodite, recorded in Bk. 32 of the *Bibliothēke* (32.12.2: 'at the outset of the Marsic War...'), This is an interesting suggestion, but rather imaginary; in any case, it is hard to prove that even the anecdote in Bk. 32 comes from Posidonius at all.

quoted in Chapter 2. Between the lines of these fragments, one may even detect a certain degree of linguistic resemblance to the above passage: ἀλειφόμενοι ἐλαίῳ πολυτελεῖ καὶ μύροις (Athen. 12.527F and 5.210F = FF62a-b EK on the luxury in Syrian cities); τράπεζαι πολυτελεῖς παρασκευάζονται (Athen. 4.153D = F53 EK on the Etruscan banquet). For the last fragment, as noted in Chap. 2, there is a parallel passage in Diodorus (5.40.3), and that particular section certainly derives from Posidonius. Curiously enough, Diodorus, speaking of the Etruscans in this passage, also remarks how their sumptuousness lost them the glory in warfare of their ancestors (5.40.4). This is exactly the same sort of sentiment expressed for the Romans in the aetiology of the Social War. Neither in Bk. 5 nor in Bk. 37 does Diodorus acknowledge his use of Posidonius (he never does), but all the conceptual and textual analogies between these passages of Diodorus and the attested fragments of Posidonius suggest that Diodorus indeed used him.<sup>21</sup>

A comparative study of the long digression on the 'righteous' provincial governors which follows the above passage will further verify the fundamentally Posidonian origin of the sociological analysis of Rome's moral state, since Athenaeus offers a similar, if not parallel, extract under circumstances closely tied by citations to Posidonius. Yet there are several textual complexities involved in both the Diodoran and the Athenaeian passages: in the case of Diodorus, owing to the corrupt order and the lack of context of the Constantinian *Excerpts*, and in the case of Athenaeus, owing to the desultory way he manipulates his sources. In order to demonstrate the point, let us briefly examine the problems of the two passages.

Diodorus' version is considerably longer than that of Athenaeus, and enumerates the following Roman personages: Mucius Scaevola assisted by Rutilius Rufus (37.5-?6) and one Λεύκιος Ἀσύλλιος, governor of Sicily, who appointed a Sempronius Longus as his legate and a Publius of the local equestrian order as an adviser (37.7-8). There are a couple of 'floating' fragments, which may or may not refer to one of the governors listed above: although the reference of 37.5.4 (*De virt.*) and 37.6 (*De sent.*) to Q. Scaevola seems - as judged from their position in the

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<sup>21</sup> See the quotations in Chap. 2, pp. 38f. The linguistic analogy between Diod. 37.3.3 and those Posidonian fragments in Athenaeus was already pointed out by Busolt (1890), p. 327.



*Excerpts* - reasonable and justified, they may on the other hand refer to somebody else whose name has been missed out from the Constantinian tradition of the *Bibliothèque*. An anecdote concerning C. Sentius, governor of Macedonia, is also included in the series of 'good governors' in the current *Loeb* edition (37.5a), but it is uncertain whether this puzzling fragment should be positioned here or indeed anywhere at all in this digression. The gap in content between the last extract of the digression (37.8) and a Gracchan episode tucked in as an analogy to Drusus' reforms (37.9) seems substantial: although in 37.8 we find only one reference made to a man called Λεύκιος Ἀσύλλιος, Diodorus in the previous fragment (37.7) promises to speak of 'those who started from a quite low esteem but who aimed at what those mentioned had attempted (περὶ τῶν ἐκ ταπεινοτέρας μὲν δόξης ὀρμηθέντων, ὀρεχθέντων δ' οὐχ ἑτέρας ἐπιβολῆς τῶν προειρημένων).' There are likely, therefore, to have been at least more *exempla* of proper governorship, to fill in the missing chapter(s) between 37.8 and 38.9.<sup>22</sup>

The Athenaeian side of the story poses even greater complexities. With no mention made of its authority, the passage in question appears amid a long discourse supposedly made by the host of the symposium, Larensius. It speaks, like Diodorus' narrative, of the integrity of some high-ranking Roman magistrates: that of Q. Scaevola, Q. Aelius Tubero and Rutilius Rufus, the three who would stick to complying with the outmoded *Lex Fannia* (274C-E).<sup>23</sup> The part of Larensius' speech that includes this particular section stretches over three chapters as a whole (Athen. 6.273A-275B = FF265-267 EK), and in it the name of Posidonius does appear, randomly, on three occasions. Yet all those references concern other episodes: on Scipio (Aemilianus) Africanus, who took only five slaves as retinue when dispatched by the Senate (note that this anecdote is attributed to both Posidonius and Polybius (273A-B = F265EK)); a Posidonian remark on the ancestral simplicity and piety of the old Romans (274A = F266EK); and the third one on the frugal way Italian families used to - or even now (καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι) - raise their children (275A = F267 EK).

<sup>22</sup> Càssola (1982), p.765, suggests that this chapter 7 from the *De sent.*, or 'l'elogio degli *homines novi*' as he puts it, in fact refers to Rutilius Rufus, mentioned by the *De virt.* in connexion with Mucius Scaevola.

<sup>23</sup> Edelstein-Kidd prints only the surrounding parts and excludes this extract; cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.913; but see also Bringmann (1986), p. 52 n. 34.

Besides the remark made on Scaevola and the others, there are two more passages whose origin(s) Athenaeus does not identify: the Roman habit of adopting whatever was useful and noble from those they conquered, while retaining their own customs (273E-F) and the ancestral frugality preserved in the festivals (274C-E). With the Posidonian fragment F266 EK inserted in between, these three anonymous passages constitute a continuous discourse. The topic of Larensius' speech itself starts from slaves, but the focal point in these paragraphs clearly shifts to the contrast between the virtues of the early Romans and the vices of the contemporary ones; a theme, that is, central also to the causal analysis of the Social War in the *Bibliothēke*.

And yet the entire section is a characteristically Athenaeian fishtank that makes source criticism an extremely precarious business. The quotations attributed by name to the philosopher and those unattested in fact float on the wave of citations from several other authors, and any deduction from Diodorus involves a circular discussion.<sup>24</sup> Nevertheless, it is very tempting to ascribe, in addition to the fragments of secure attribution, those passages of unknown provenance in Athenaeus altogether to Posidonius, whereby we can more safely suggest that the Diodoran 'parallel' also goes back to the same origin. Not that the whole tone in Athenaeus' passages sounds Posidonian, and we do need to be cautious: those topics mentioned above were, after all, common themes of the time, products of the intellectual *Zeitgeist* running from Polybius to Sallust. On the other hand, all the surrounding indications in Athenaeus, however circumstantial they may be, encourage our Posidonian hypothesis. Posidonius is most likely, for example, to have spoken of the Romans' borrowing of other peoples' innovations, such as Greek siegecraft or Etruscan shields. The same theme recurs in Diodorus too (e.g. 23.2), and one comment on their adoption of the political institutions and decorations of the Etruscans (5.40.1-2) appears immediately before that Etruscan banquet I have earlier referred to, constituting together an

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<sup>24</sup> The names of authors who are quoted in the discourse include: Cotta (the *Roman Constitutions*), Chamaeleon (*On Pleasure*), Nicias of Nicaea (the *Successions*) (all from 273B-C), Nicolaus on Lucullus' renowned luxury, Polybius on Cato's denunciation on the price of a jar of Pontic fish (6.274E-275A), and Theopompus (Bk. 1 of the *Philippica*) (6.275B). To complicate the matter, Athenaeus himself knew Diodorus; although it is uncertain whether he actually read the whole of the *Bibliothēke*, in one passage he fairly accurately quotes Diodorus (12.541F, from Diod. 11.25.4).



‘Tyrrhenian ethnography’ in Bk. 5 of the *Bibliothēke*.<sup>25</sup> We must also speculate about Athenaeus’ immediate source for the episode on the ridiculous price of a jar of Pontic fish that brought Cato’s indignation, introduced just after the Posidonian fragment F267 EK (6.274E-275A). Athenaeus attributes it to Polybius, and the actual context of this famous episode in Polybius (31.25.5-5a) is Scipio Aemilianus’ pursuit of self-restraint, in stark contrast with the degenerate tendencies among the young Romans (31.25). In Bk. 31 of the *Bibliothēke*, following this Polybian eulogy of Scipio (31.26-27, esp. 26.6ff), Diodorus, too, records this remark of the great censor (31.24).<sup>26</sup> Nevertheless, the same anecdote is again introduced in the causal analysis of the Social War in Bk.37, where the context is similarly the moral decline of the Romans, but now the chief suspect for its authorship is not Polybius but Posidonius (37.3.6). In Diodorus, as in Athenaeus, the story is closely connected with high-ranking Roman officials renowned for their integrity. In view of all this, I suspect that Athenaeus, along with Diodorus in Bk. 37, may - despite his claim - well be falling back solely on Posidonius, who quoted the Catonian anecdote from Polybius in his own context. That is not wild imagination: the story immediately follows a Posidonian citation; just after it comes an excerpt which Athenaeus claims to have derived from Theopompus but, as its anachronism shows, could in fact come from Posidonius quoting Theopompus.<sup>27</sup> Furthermore, Athenaeus attributes the earlier remark on Scipio’s frugality in keeping slaves at his disposal to both Polybius and Posidonius; although these authors are often quoted by Athenaeus one after another (e.g. 9.400F-401A; 10.439Aff), this is the single instance in which they are named together. We may well suspect, therefore, that these two citations which look to us Polybian were taken from Posidonius quoting Polybius. In fact, a few attested fragments show that Posidonius did cite Polybius in his work, largely for the sake of criticism (FF49; ?217; 271; cf.

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<sup>25</sup> See above; *FGH* includes the entire chapter, including the material on ‘borrowing’, as F119 *Anhang*.

<sup>26</sup> As its chapter number indicates, however, the Catonian episode - unlike in Polybius - is not directly attached to Aemilianus’ career in the current arrangement of Bk. 31 of the *Bibliothēke*. Perhaps it should be, as Walton (1957), p. 375 n. 2, suggests.

<sup>27</sup> νῦν δέ of course does not make sense, when Athenaeus is discussing contemporary Rome, not fourth-century Greece; see Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.913.



T78) - a sure sign, one might say, of the philosopher's extensive use of his immediate predecessor.<sup>28</sup>

I believe, therefore, that both the Diodoran Scaevola and the Athenaeon Scaevola, together with the Polybian Pontic fish in their accounts, are actually taken from Posidonius.<sup>29</sup> That possibility will be further consolidated when one has to conjecture a link between these two traditions on the one hand and Posidonius' original source for them on the other. That is to say, Rutilius Rufus, the very man who marks his own presence in both the extracts. A Rutilian fragment explaining the Roman institution of market days, *mundinae* (Macrob. *Sat.* 1.16.34 = F1 Peter), can perfectly find its place in the context of Athenaeus' remark on the *Lex Fannia*: ἐκέλευε δ' ὁ νόμος τριῶν μὲν πλείονας τῶν ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας μὴ ὑποδέχεσθαι, κατὰ ἀγορὰν δὲ τῶν πέντε· τοῦτο δὲ τρεῖς τοῦ μηνὸς ἐγίνετο. Rutilius' background as a lawyer may well explain the apparent punctilio in Athenaeus' description of the sumptuary law.<sup>30</sup> In addition, Scaevola, Rutilius and Q. Aelius Tubero all had Scipionic connexions - political and familial - and, together with Posidonius, belonged to the group of Stoic disciples under Panaetius. It may be that Posidonius had personal acquaintance not only with Rutilius but even with Tubero, if we were to believe a (very) late *testimonium* of unknown provenance (T12 = F86a EK).<sup>31</sup> If the ultimate source for those pieces of information was indeed Rutilius, they were certainly transmitted via Posidonius, who in his turn used Rutilius' autobiography, to Diodorus and Athenaeus.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Although Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.912f, asserts that Cato's rebuke in Athenaeus comes from a non-Posidonian source; Rizzo (1976), pp. 288f., believes - for reasons unknown to me, though - that both Diodorus and Athenaeus took the episode from the same Posidonian material; and so does Harmatta (1971), pp. 24f., who, however, considers this section as having formed a part of the account of the great crisis of the second slave war - whatever its precise context might have been in Posidonius, at least in Diodorus it must have been adjunct to the causal explanation of the Social War in Bk. 37, as arranged in the Loeb edition and can be conjectured with reference to the parallel account of Photius.

<sup>29</sup> See, among others, Strasburger (1965), p. 49; Harmatta (1971), pp. 24-25; Bringmann (1986), p. 52 and n. 34.

<sup>30</sup> Lewis (R), pp. 69 and 71f.; for Rutilius' legal concerns, cf. Lewis (R), p. 79.

<sup>31</sup> Ποσειδώνιον, οἶμαι, σεμνὸν μάλα φιλόσοφον ταῦτα πρὸς Τουβέρωνα διαλεγόμενον. Both Posidonius and Tubero were pupils of Panaetius, so it would not come as a surprise to find 'Posidonius talking with Tubero'. But we should be cautious about the dubious nature of the source for this *testimonium* (Ps.-Plutarch); see Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.15.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Strasburger (1965), p. 40f. and n. 14. On Posidonius' general use of Rutilius, see Chap. 2, pp. 48f.; the obvious hostility towards *publicani* in this and other passages of the *Bibliothèque*, see Chap. 3, *passim*.



There are, however, several - and not trivial - discrepancies between the last two authors: Diodorus' attention centres exclusively upon the corrective and benevolent policies employed in the provinces by those Romans he describes, that is, their public activities as provincial governors. What appealed to Athenaeus, on the other hand, was solely the private expenditure, characteristically on food and other commodities, of those same personages, that is, in the Stoic manner of life they conducted. The language of the two authors, in the passages concerned, is also entirely different. These two groups of extracts may derive from two separate narrative contexts in Posidonius, one from the aetiology of the Social War, the other from some other section. Probably the deterioration of the moral standard among the Romans was a recurrent, if not universal, theme in the *Histories*, and was not uniquely associated with the Social War alone. Even so, we must not assume that either of the Posidonian extracts is entirely free from the 'inventiveness' of its citators. No one can predict to what extent Athenaeus will have altered and/or contracted his source in any instance. But Diodorus, too, habitually rewords the original at his disposal so that the resulting phrases may conform to his own style. In the passage in question it is said that one of the governors (almost certainly Scaevola) τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε (37.6), to give an example, and the phrase is formulaic in the *Bibliothēke* when Diodorus describes a deified figure (e.g., 1.2.4; 22.6; 90.2; 97.6; 4.58.6; 62.4; 20.102.2). It is interesting to observe that an inscription that records the honours accorded to Scaevola does not mention such deification (*OGIS* 437-439 on the Μουκία); it could be, therefore, a complete invention on the part of Diodorus.<sup>33</sup> If, on the other hand, it is the case that the two extracts from Athenaeus and Diodorus derive from a single Posidonian context, it will shed far more unfamiliar light on Diodorus.<sup>34</sup> Athenaeus is no political critic, and is certainly eclectic in his choice of material. The fact, however, that Diodorus mentions none of the topics which attracted Athenaeus'

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<sup>33</sup> For a comparison of the Diodoran passage and *OGIS* 437-439, see Sacks (1990), pp 73f. and 181f.

<sup>34</sup> In Rutilius' autobiography, the *De vita sua*, his and his Stoic friends' adherence to the Fannian law (in Athenaeus) and his administration in the province of Asia (in Diodorus) would certainly have belonged to two different contexts; see the structure of the *De vita sua* suggested by Lewis, (R) pp. 77-83. On the other hand, Bringmann (1986), n. 34, at least seems to reckon that those two episodes belonged to the single, broader context of the Social War in Posidonius.



exclusive attention makes our historian appear a citator as selective as Athenaeus, yet more systematic than the latter. The Constantinian excerptor who transmits our Diodoran material could of course have omitted such details as now preserved only in Athenaeus. If the choice of the subject was indeed Diodorus' own, however, it will illuminate his personal political preoccupations as a provincial under Roman governance and, to some extent, his own view of history as a historian.<sup>35</sup>

Neither do the Roman notables covered by the two authors respectively entirely agree: while Athenaeus does not include Ἀσύλλιος in his Roman trio, Tubero in the Athenaeian version does not feature in Diodorus. Since both citators may be quoting from different contexts in Posidonius and/or have freely chosen whom to include or to discard, such a divergence may not matter too much. Should they be referring to the same pages of the *Histories*, however, Tubero's absence in the *Bibliothèque* too may attest Diodorus' systematic selection of material. Diodorus probably recorded more examples of governors in his original, as we have observed, than are now preserved. Yet it is unknown whether he also referred to Tubero in the now missing chapters. Q. Aelius Tubero was a tribune of the plebs c. 130 (Cic. *Brut.* 117) but had stood for the praetorship at least once unsuccessfully (Cic. *Mur.* 76); although we do not know that Tubero was not made praetor on another attempt, Cicero's tone (*Brut.* 117: *itaque honoribus maiorum respondere non potuit*) makes that possibility rather unlikely. Therefore he would have hardly fallen in the category of governors, or at least no relationship between him and a province is attested.<sup>36</sup> We should certainly not make too much out of the excerptor's silence, yet it is worth

<sup>35</sup> I have already suggested the high likelihood that Diodorus played down the socio-ethical aspects in Nasica Corculum's polemic, preferring instead the theme of 'benevolent empire-management' (see Chap. 3, pp. 69f.). Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), pp. 145f., comparing Posidonius' praise of the rural morality of the old Romans, preserved by Athenaeus (F266 EK), and some passages in the *Bibliothèque* that are otherwise thought to derive from him, point out a difference of perspective between Posidonius and Diodorus, the former being interested in moral philosophy and the latter in politics; hence their rejection of Posidonius as Diodorus' source for those passages. However, this difference probably arises from the difference in attitudes between Diodorus and Athenaeus - the latter would disregard anything but food - rather than from their common source, Posidonius.

<sup>36</sup> For the career of Aelius Tubero, see *RE Aelius* (155); cf. Broughton, *MRR*, 1.502. In any case, there is no testimony that he was sent out to a province either as praetor or *pro praetore* or *pro consule*. It is an open possibility, on the other hand, that he served as legate to a provincial governor. The Q. Aelius Tubero who held a suffect consulship, as attested by Pomponius (*Dig.* 1.2.2.40), was probably the famous jurist of the late republican/ early imperial period; see Broughton, *MRR*, Sup. (Additions and Corrections), 2; *RE Aelius* (156).



suggesting here that our historian may again have been 'choosy' about the topics to be covered, casting aside what does not directly concern his political/ provincial interest.<sup>37</sup>

The quasi-eulogy of Λεύκιος Ἀσύλλιος and his legates found in Diodorus alone (37.8) also deserves some consideration. It is generally believed that, as this figure was associated with the Sempronii Longi in Diodorus' account (37. 8.1: C. Longus), he also belonged to the gens Sempronia, and thus his name can be reconstituted as L. Sempronius Asellio.<sup>38</sup> If so, then Posidonius - or his Roman source - would have had enough reason to pay a tribute to him. For the praetor was probably either a son of Sempronius Asellio, who wrote yet another history of contemporary Rome, or, though less likely, Asellio himself.<sup>39</sup> If the former is the case, πατρός μὲν ὑπάρχων τεταμεινκός (37.8.1) must refer to the historian. The author of a Latin *res gestae*, he shared much in common with Rutilius himself: he was a military tribune, apparently with Rutilius, at Numantia under Scipio Aemilianus in 133-4 (Gell. 2.13 = F6 Peter; *MRR*); like Rutilius, he was sententious, it seems (see his fragments in Peter); the historical approach and methods employed in his work, like Rutilius', owed much to Polybius (Gell. 5.18.8 = F1 Peter), to which club Posidonius, continuator of Polybius, also belongs.<sup>40</sup> Therefore it is not too difficult to conceive his association, to whatever degree, with Rutilius and, quite possibly, with Posidonius himself in this connexion. It is true that Asellio does not seem to have built up an impressive career in the *cursus honorum* and, if 'the father' of the Sicilian governor in the above quotation indeed refers to the man, he ended up as a quaestor. Nevertheless, that may not have prevented him from making his presence felt in the dilettante circles of the Romans. Posidonius may have obtained some knowledge of the Numantine War and possibly even of the Social War, orally or not, from the elder Asellio, as the work may have narrowly reached the beginning of that war: one

<sup>37</sup> Harmatta (1971), pp. 24f., in his rather hasty conclusion, neglects all the differences of details and contexts stated above between these two authors.

<sup>38</sup> *RE Sempronius* (18); cf. *RE Sempronius (Longus)*, cols. 63ff.

<sup>39</sup> The former possibility is suggested in *RE Sempronius* (18); the latter in Peter, *HRR*, ccxlii, n. 2.

<sup>40</sup> For the character of Asellio's work, see Peter, *HRR*, ccxlii-ccxliv; *RE Sempronius* (16); Wiseman (1979), pp. 18f.; its affinities with Rutilius' attitude, Lewis (R), pp. 78 (esp. n. 40) and 83.

fragment (F11 Peter), assigned to Bk. 14, clearly refers to the murder of Drusus in 91.<sup>41</sup> If so, it would certainly have won the warmest approval from Rutilius and/or from Posidonius when one of Asellio's kinsmen - probably a son, if not the man himself - restored an island that had been devastated by two great slave wars, realising the ideals which he appeared to share with themselves.<sup>42</sup> Indeed the policies adopted by L. Asellio are explicitly made comparable with those of Mucius Scaevola (37.8.1: παραπλησίως γὰρ τῷ Σκαιοῦόλῳ), thus showing the coherence of the author's style in the descriptions of both governors. Again, all this may well suggest the Rutilian-Posidonian origin of the passage in question.

That is one possibility. On the other hand, it is rightly believed that Diodorus' own ethical views were not far removed from those of Posidonius and Stoicism in general. In addition, the historian was certainly interested in the conduct of a Roman magistrate/ promagistrate in the provinces, and he is also likely, as has been observed, to have somewhat exaggerated the provincial appreciation of Scaevola's governorship.<sup>43</sup> Such a preoccupation as Diodorus' must have been particularly awakened when the governor's destination was Sicily, in which he is often shown to have had a strong personal interest. In view of all this, Diodorus may at the very least have embroidered or expanded the original material as it pleased him: personal qualities such as φιλανθρωπία, εὐσέβεια and παιδεία are typical hallmarks of ideal leadership throughout the *Bibliothēke* (37.8.2). Or indeed, he may even have composed the whole description of the Sicilian governor himself, relying on his own local knowledge but following the Posidonian model of eulogy on Scaevola's governorship. Such a possibility should not entirely be ruled out, all the more so in view of the fact that, outside Diodorus' account, nothing is known of the career of L.

<sup>41</sup> This is the latest datable event assigned to Asellio's *res gestae*, and Bk. 14 is probably one of the final books. For there is no other fragment securely attributable to a later book; a reference to 'Bk. 40' in Charisius (F13 Peter) should be a mistake - see Peter, *HRR*, 1, ccxliv. Therefore in his work the Social War must have barely, if at all, been mentioned. Or he may have no chance to write about it; the earliest surviving account of the Social War in Latin is in Sisenna's *Historiae*, which were doubtless a continuation of Asellio's work.

<sup>42</sup> L. Asellio's governorship is usually assigned to the mid 90s (96 BC: Broughton, *MRR*, p. 9 and p. 10 n. 2; 94 BC: *RE*), only half a decade after the end of the Second Slave War (see Chap. 5).

<sup>43</sup> For Diodorus and Stoic influences on him, see Busolt (1890), pp. 322, 324, 326 and 329ff.; Oldfather (1933), pp. xii and xx; Strogetsky (1982), pp. 101f. On his particular interest in the provincial aspects of Roman rule, see Chap. 3, *passim*.



Asellio, let alone of his governorship in Sicily. That stands in stark contrast with Scaevola's celebrated promagistracy in Asia, along with Rutilius' legateship, which is documented by many other writers (Cic. *Att.* 5.17.5; 6.1.15; *Verr.* 2.2.51; 2.3.209; *Liv. Per.* 70; *Val. Max.* 8.15.6; *Dio*, 28.F97.1).<sup>44</sup>

At any rate, there is secure evidence that Diodorus did not merely copy his source for this long digression, but actively sought to accommodate its *esprit* to the overall programme of his historical work. At the end of the Constantinian extract illustrating the excessive luxury of the Romans (37.3.5) - which in all probability derives from Posidonius - there is a promise to speak of 'some magistrates in the provinces' who tried to make their conduct a model of noble practice. This is a remark that ought to lead directly to the above digression on the model governors, but in between comes an *excerpt* which includes Cato's criticism of luxury and a brief statement on the rôle of history (37.3.6-4.2). Clearly the former anecdote was originally a part of the preceding section 37.3.5,<sup>45</sup> but the following sentence on the paedagogic purpose of history writing (37.4) will not have directly followed the Catonian episode in the original version of the *Bibliothèque*, since it starts with ὅτι, a conjunction the excerptors use when they start their quotations. The current location of this extract seems appropriate, as it could find no other suitable context. It runs as follows:

Ὅτι φησὶν ὁ ἱστορικὸς Διόδωρος, Μνησθήσομαι τινῶν παραδείγματος ἕνεκα καὶ ἐπαίνου δικαίου καὶ τοῦ τῷ κοινῷ βίῳ συμφέροντος, ἵν' οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν βλασφημίας ἀποτρέπωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὁρμῆς, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ διὰ τοῦς ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου δόξης ἐπαίνους ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρέγωνται.

<sup>44</sup> This distinction, of course, owes part to Scaevola's preëminence in Roman politics, to the impact of his reorganisation of Asia on the overall provincial policies thereafter, and, ironically, to the notoriety of the subsequent condemnation of Rutilius under the equestrian jury. But the urgency of the matter must have no less been felt in Sicily, which was 'found ruined' (*Diod.* 37.8.1) after the Second Slave War.

<sup>45</sup> See above, note 8; both fragments (the first from the *De virt.*, and the second from the *De sent.*) enumerate the ridiculous prices of foreign luxuries sold at Rome. However, the wording used in these two lists is quite different, and the only common item is a jar of Pontic fish. Moreover, the name of Cato - to whom both lists should be credited - does not appear in the first fragment (37.3.5). Those differences in the same context may indicate that the Constantinian excerptors were not always as faithful to the original as are generally believed; see Chap. 1, pp. 13f.



This is essentially a repetition of the same idea stated in 37.3.5, 'some of the magistrates in the provinces cared to change the zeal for a manner of life such as just mentioned, and to set their own conduct...as an archetype of noble practice to imitate.' The above quotation, therefore, appears rather redundant, and the transition from the context of the final sentence of 37.3.5 to that of 37.5 (the beginning of the excursus) would have been smoother without it. The language used in these two statements is markedly different, and thus the excerptor of the *De virt.* and that of the *De sent.* cannot be drawing them from a single passage. In addition, there is a shift of the subject in 37.4, and now it is Diodorus himself (μνησθήσομαι) who wants to present those governors as models (παράδειγματα).

In none of the extant fragments of the *Histories* does Posidonius explicitly declare his intention to present the conduct of his characters as laudable *exempla* to be imitated or repulsive ones to deter. But the moral purpose of his history writing can unequivocally be seen from those same fragments, and can also be inferred from that famous statement in Athenaeus on the *Histories*: 'Posidonius the Stoic describes many customs and manners among many peoples in a way not foreign to his philosophy' (T80 EK).<sup>46</sup> On the other hand, the use of historic figures as παράδειγματα also fits in perfectly with Diodorus' idea of the utility of history, expressed in several parts of the *Bibliothēke* (e.g., 1.1-3; 14.1, the proem to Bk. 14; 16.70.2; 17.47.6; 23.25.1; 31.15.1; 34/5.9).<sup>47</sup> Furthermore, the emphasis on 'the denunciations and praises of History', expressed in the above-quoted passage, is more consonant with Diodorus' own view of history as 'the prophetess of truth' and 'the mother city of the whole philosophy (1.2.2)' than Posidonius' ethics. The latter was interested in causal explanations, which are primarily to be supplied by his philosophical-psychological theories, and not in the reputations history hands down to

<sup>46</sup> This characterisation of the *Histories* probably came from Posidonius himself; see Chap. 3, note 23. For Posidonius' didactic purpose of history writing, cf. also Bringmann (1986), pp. 49-54; Kidd (1989), *passim*.

<sup>47</sup> The last reference (34/5.9) belongs to the account of the First Slave War, much of which is believed to be Posidonian. However, this particular fragment speaks of the 'Divine Power' intending to set an example (παράδειγματισμόν) to the others. This notion is paralleled in all the other passages listed here, with τὸ δαίμονιον employed much as a synonym of 'History,' a fact which incidentally may support the hypothesis that Diodorus refashioned at least some parts of Posidonius' account of the slave war (see Chap. 5)



posterity.<sup>48</sup> The language of 1.1 in Diodorus' first *prooemium*, the introduction to his entire work, definitely confirms that 37.4 was written by our historian himself.<sup>49</sup> Compare 37.4 with some phrases in the first proem (especially the italicised part):

τοὺς δ' ἡγεμόνας τῷ διὰ τῆς δόξης ἀθανατισμῷ προτρέπεται τοῖς καλλίστοις τῶν ἔργων ἐπιχειρεῖν .... τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς αἰωνίοις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέπει τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὁρμῆς (1.1.5)

καλὸν γὰρ τὸ δύνασθαι νασθαι τοῖς τῶν ἄλλων ἀγνοήμασι πρὸς διόρθωσιν χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασι, καὶ πρὸς τὰ συγκυροῦντα ποικίλως κατὰ τὸν βίον ἔχειν μὴ ζήτησιν τῶν πραττομένων, ἀλλὰ μίμησιν τῶν ἐπιτετευγμένων (1.1.4).<sup>50</sup>

The same utilitarianism, based on a praise-blame approach towards history, also recurs in other books, in more or less the same formula and irrespective of the supposed sources behind them (e.g. 9.33; 10.12; 11.38.6; 38/9.18). At one point, our historian even reaffirms that he has taken this approach 'throughout his entire history': ἡμεῖς δὲ παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰωθότες τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἐπαίνων αὔξειν τὴν δόξαν, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι τὰς ἀρμοζούσας βλασφημίας (11.46.1). On his reading of his source Posidonius, the philosopher's description of those governors must have struck a double chord in Diodorus. As the insertion of his own comment in the above quotation shows, he clearly found their personal integrity, as well as their political ideals, to fit his universal theme of historical utility, and their contributions to humanity to be worth re-emphasising. At the same time, the particular benefactions

<sup>48</sup> Of course this view of history was by no means unique to Diodorus at all, but rather an obsession common to many (if not all) ancient historians and annalists. For example Tacitus, somewhat nostalgically, makes just the same point: *praecipuum munus annalium reor ne virtutes sileantur utque pravis dictis factisque ex posteritate et infamia metus sit* (*Ann.* 3.65). For Posidonius' concept of history as subordinate to philosophy (and not the other way round), see Kidd (1989), pp. 40f.; Hahm (1989), p. 1357.

<sup>49</sup> Cf. Pavan (1961), pp. 22f.; Strogetsky (1982), pp. 102f.; Sacks (1990), pp. 24f. and n. 3; *id.* (1994), pp. 214f. The very first chapter of the *Bibliothèque* was once thought to be reflecting Posidonius' idea of history; see the bibliography in Hahm (1989), p. 1358 n. 51. For the linguistic features common between the first proem and other parts of the *Bibliothèque*, see Sacks (1990), p. 11 and n. 12; p. 140 n. 1.

<sup>50</sup> I agree with the brief comment in Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 120, which, while designating 37.4 as F212 of Posidonius, does recognise that it 'partly' contains Diodorus' own words. It may also be true that the earlier note on the governors in 37.3.5 (ἀδιορθώτου....τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων) originates in Posidonius' account.

those Romans offered to their respective provinces, and not least in Sicily, would have meant for Diodorus the realisation of the principles on which Rome should maintain its rule: τῶν ὑποτεταγμένων ἐπεικῶς καὶ ἐνδόξως ἄρχειν (33/4.33.5). For Posidonius, the long digression was a part of the aetiological analysis of the *causa praecedens* of the Social War; yet for Diodorus, who saw Italy and the provinces as two separate entities, the digression and the war itself were probably rather irrelevant to each other. As we shall see, this difference of perspective also emerges in the narrative of the war proper.

### 3. ROMAN SOURCES

Before proceeding to a close examination of the actual narrative of the Social War, it may be opportune to consider the question of the ultimate source(s) which contributed the first-hand information of the war to the Diodoran account. Although the evidence is rather meagre, a few prosopographical considerations regarding the personages who feature in the narrative will also shed some light on the character of this/these source(s). Take the example of Poppaedius Silo (Πομπαιδῖος in Diod.), a Marsic blue-blood and a ringleader of the Italian resistance who had had close contact with the ruling classes at Rome before the war; he was a friend of Drusus and had stayed in his house (Plut. *Cat. Min.* 2.1-4; Val. Max. 3.1.2).<sup>51</sup> The author of the account seems to have been well aware of this personal relationship between the Italic nobleman and prominent Romans, as can be inferred from some surviving remnants of it: the rather intimate exchange of words between Poppaedius and (probably) one of the commissioners sent out by Rome, named C. Domitius,<sup>52</sup> indicates that they had been acquainted with each other (37.13); and so does, probably, the fraternising - and somewhat incredible - intercourse between Marius' army and that of Poppaedius *during* the war (37.15), on which occasion both commanders conversed with each other 'like kinsmen (συγγενικῶς)'. Behind these hints at the personal relationship between the parties concerned probably lies an informed Roman source. If the

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<sup>51</sup> *RE Q. Poppaedius Silo*; Salmon (1967), p. 336.

<sup>52</sup> C. Domitius was, according to Salmon (1967), p. 337, a commissioner with the *imperium*; Broughton, *MRR*, 2.24, n. 4, refrains from establishing his status; Walton (1967), p. 219 n. 1, suggests that he *may* be identified with Cn. (not Gaius, as in Diod.) Domitius Ahenobarbus, cos 96.



account of the war indeed reflects a Roman point of view, to whatever extent, it may be partly due to the aristocratic origin of Poppaedius and his association with Roman notables that his treatment in the narrative is, if not always neutral, far less derogatory than those of other rebel leaders such as Eunos the slave king. One may well compare these passages with Cicero's first-hand report of the intercourse between Sex. Pompeius, brother of Pompeius Strabo, and Vettius Scato, the other Marsic leader: *Voluntate hospitem, necessitate hostem* (*Phil.* 12.27).<sup>53</sup>

To identify the actual name(s) of the ultimate Roman source(s), however, is a more intricate task. Rutilius' *De vita sua* - or far more likely its Greek version *Historiae* - was almost certainly one of the chief sources for Posidonius, who, in turn, was used by Diodorus. The likely Rutilian origin of the earlier excursus on Scaevola's governorship, from whatever context in his autobiography, has already been discussed; it has also been argued that the three fragments on Drusus' tribunate on the eve of the war (37.9-11) easily echo Rutilius' view of the political attempts by his nephew (see Chap. 3). But we do not know how much of the development of the war itself Rutilius could have recounted, or whether he did so at all. In this connexion it is all the more regrettable that the name of Cn. Pompeius Strabo appears only once, in Photius' epitomised version, as a mere cog of the Roman war machine (37.2.8). For it is known, from Plutarch's testimony, that Rutilius depicted the father of Pompey the Great as an utter villain in his work (*Plut. Pomp.* 37 = F5 Peter). In what context, and in regard to what, Plutarch does not say. As far as the Social War is concerned, and if Rutilius ever recounted the episode at all, any criticism of Pompeius Strabo would have been centred upon his (alleged) peculation of the booty from the capture of Asculum (*Oros.* 5.18.27-29) and/or his acquiescence in - if not an active incitement to - the butchery of Pompeius Rufus, cos. 88 with Sulla, by his own troops (*Liv. Per.* 77; *App. BC* 1.63; *Vell.* 220.1).<sup>54</sup> In any case, if we had a fuller account of Pompeius

<sup>53</sup> Yet the author of the account at the same time indicates that Poppaedius' undertaking of an armed Marsic march towards Rome was an act of irrational folly (37.13.1: ἐπεβάλετο μεγάλη καὶ παραβόλῳ πράξει). One may see here a sign of Posidonian psychology at work (see below; cf. also 34/5.2.17; 36.2.3 = 36.2a: ἐπεχείρησε πράξει παραλογωτάτῳ).

<sup>54</sup> Plutarch would not necessarily have discovered Rutilius' criticism of Pompeius in regard to these incidents during the Social War, of which he is not known to have written an account anyway. The Pompeius criticised by Rutilius for his electoral manoeuvre in another fragment (*Charis. Art. Gram.* 2.195K = F7 Peter) was Q. Pompeius Rufus, cos. 141, not



Strabo's conduct during the war in Bk. 37, that might have allowed us to speculate about the presence of a Rutilian bias (which in turn would have suggested a Posidonian intermediary), or the lack of it, in the narrative of the war.<sup>55</sup>

Yet Rutilius had already been in exile and out of Italy for a year by the time of the outbreak of the Social War. Given this fact and the essentially autobiographic nature of his work, it would be safer to say that Rutilius did not cover the whole course of the war, and that Posidonius would have been compelled to consult other sources as well, written and/or oral, for a large part of the narrative of the war. Sempronius Asellio's historical work, as noted, may not have reached even the initial phase of the war, and if so can be discarded as a possible source for Posidonius as far as the Social War is concerned. On the other hand, Sisenna's account of the Social War, which may have been a continuation of Asellio's work, remains a possible source; yet despite the substantial quantity of the fragments which have come down to us (in Peter), they are not particularly revealing in respect of this particular question. If we were to enlarge the scope to cover the Latin annalistic tradition, the annals of Claudius Quadrigarius, and possibly of Valerius Antias too, could already have been available to Posidonius, although one can hardly prove that he used them (which is rather unlikely).<sup>56</sup>

Yet Posidonius' command of Latin was perhaps dubious, and is not attested anyway.<sup>57</sup> An interpreter is of course a possibility, but he must have sought written sources of information primarily among Greek works, not least if they were readily available. Of such possible Greek sources, a few are indeed known to us. According to Plutarch, for example, L. Lucullus in his adolescence, conversing with Sisenna and Hortensius, agreed that he would write a history of the 'Marsic War' both in Greek

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Pompeius Strabo, cos 89 (despite Peter, p. 189 n. 7, 'possit tamen cogitari de Cn. Pompeio Strabone'); see Lewis, (R) pp. 69 and 77.

<sup>55</sup> That is, of course, not to say that Rutilius would be the only source for any critical remarks on Pompey's father, none too scrupulous, in the tradition (there were probably abundant criticisms among his contemporaries). For a more favourable reassessment of Pompeius Strabo's personality and career, see Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), pp. 71 and 408 n. 22.

<sup>56</sup> Yet see also Wiseman (1979), pp. 113-121, who argues for the publication date of Antias' work between 52-44; his argument, however, is based on a rather suspect conjecture from what he believes are 'testimonia' in Cicero (*Leg.* 1.6-7; *De or.* 2.51ff.; *Brut.* 54).

<sup>57</sup> The suggestion by Malitz (1983), p. 361, that Posidonius' knowledge of the language was sufficient to enable him to use Latin sources does not go beyond wishful thinking.



and Latin. Plutarch believed that Lucullus had actually done so, for ‘διασώζεται ... γὰρ Ἑλληνικὴ τις ἱστορία τοῦ Μαρσικοῦ πολέμου’ (*Luc.* 1.7-8 = T1 FGH 2B.185). Cicero also knew the historical work of Lucullus (*Att.*, 1.19.10), so its existence is indisputable.<sup>58</sup> Unfortunately we have no clue to the nature of his work, nor can we prove Posidonius’ use of it.

On the other hand, there is much more that can be said of Sulla’s notorious *Commentarii*, if for no other reason than the relative quantity of surviving material. This autobiographical work has always cast its shadow heavily on the later traditions that covered the period concerned; edited and translated by Lucullus on Sulla’s instructions, it was in all probability also available in a Greek version (cf. *Plut. Sull.* 6; *Luc.* 1 and 4). The work was extensively used by Plutarch and Velleius, and its influence is still traceable in Appian, Strabo and the Livian tradition. Thus these secondary sources dependent upon Sulla’s memoirs provide reasonably good grounds for a comparison with the *Bibliothèque*. One of the only two references to Sulla in Diodorus’ account of the Social War depicts the future Dictator as a man of great talent: ὁ Σύλλας τὰς πράξεις καλῶς ἐχείριζε καὶ ἐνεργῶς ... καὶ καθόλου φανερόν ἐπὶ μείζον πρόσχημα δόξης προαχθισόμενος (37.25). This remark, made in reference to Sulla’s consular election in 89, is well suggestive of his *Memoirs* which bore the hallmark of ‘unhesitating mendacity’.<sup>59</sup> For it nearly dovetails with a comment in Plutarch that Sulla’s achievements in the Social War won him the reputation of a great leader among the citizens (*Sull.* 6). The passage, like Diodorus’, refers to his electioneering in 89, and is immediately preceded by a degrading slur on Marius’ military performance in the same war (cf. also *Mar.* 33). Thus it appears that Plutarch, who has left the largest quantity of citations from Sulla, took these two remarks from the same memoirs, to which the Diodoran parallel will ultimately go back too.<sup>60</sup> In Diodorus’ narrative of the war itself, Sulla features very little, being

<sup>58</sup> *HRR*, cclxxxi-ii.

<sup>59</sup> The phrase is Lewis’ (1991), p. 511. It has indeed been suggested that Posidonius at least consulted Sulla’s work: cf. *HRR*, cclxxv; Lewis (S), pp. 95f.; Malitz (1983), p. 395 n. 305, adds both Rutilius’ and Sulla’s works to the list of Posidonius’ sources.

<sup>60</sup> *Plut. Sull.* 6: ‘Σύλλας δὲ πολλὰ δράσας ἄξια λόγου δόξαν ἔσχεν ἡγεμόνος μεγάλου μὲν παρὰ τοῖς πολίταις...’ Velleius (2.17.3) and Livy (*Per.* 75) also carry a similar pro-Sullan ring with regard to the same election and thus are another possible derivative from Sulla’s work; cf. Sulla F10 Peter (= *Plin. NH* 12.6); Appian, *BC* 1.52f.

mentioned only twice (37.2.8 and 25.1). Yet one fragment on the ordeal of the besieged Aesernians (37.19.1-2) is of much interest, since in 90 Sulla was operating there in an abortive attempt to relieve the town. The ancient sources on this 'heroic' struggle undoubtedly derive from his *Commentarii* (Frontin. *Str.* 1.5.17; Oros. 5.18.16; cf. Oros. 5.18.5; Plut. *Sull.* 6), which would also have been the best intermediary of information for such a detailed description of the siege as that of Diodorus. Needless to say, any hypothesis built upon a mere chance survival of fragments is precarious, and in any case an extensive and uncritical dependence of the Diodoran material on Sulla's work is rather unlikely. For, as in many other authors (Plut. *Sull.* 6.7ff.; 30.4f.; Dio, 30-35 Fr. 109.1ff.; Liv. *Per.* 88; Exup. 5; Vell. 2.25.3), the assessment of Sulla in the *Bibliothèque* is mixed at best (e.g., 37.29.5; 38/9.7, 15 and 19).<sup>61</sup>

We must be cautious, however, about considering Posidonius naturally and solely responsible for transmitting all the views expressed by those earlier authors, because Diodorus could also have done just the same; after all, he has been chiefly known for that technique. All the Greek sources which Posidonius was able to use were, at least theoretically, available to Diodorus too - and why not in practice? Not only that, but our historian - if his claim to command of the Latin language is credible - also had access to Roman ὑπονήματα (1.4.4). Furthermore, although direct knowledge of the Social War must have been diminished by the time that Diodorus was composing his work, the range of the available literary sources by contrast had probably expanded, especially in Latin traditions such as Sisenna's *Historiae*. Thus it follows that any traces of an earlier literature, Greek or Latin, in the *Bibliothèque* could have taken any one of a number of different routes - and not necessarily via Posidonius - before having been used by Diodorus.<sup>62</sup>

Apart from attested literary predecessors, Posidonius and Diodorus (again both of them) could have drawn on other materials such as obscure monographs and

<sup>61</sup> A few other passages in Diodorus (including those on the First Mithridatic War) also suggest their ultimate Sullan origin; for Posidonius' use of a pro-Sullan source for events in the early 80s, see also Chap. 6, pp. 210-213.

<sup>62</sup> That Diodorus could, at least theoretically, have had a wider range of information than Posidonius applies not only to the Social War but naturally to any given episode. Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), pp. 139-140, argues for a similar case in regard to the Gracchan fragments in the *Bibliothèque*.



*commentarii*, or oral information obtained through personal conversations. Posidonius had visited Rome as Rhodian ambassador when the embers of the war were still smouldering (87/6) (T28 = F255 EK), and this embassy may well have provided him with an opportunity of acquiring first-hand knowledge of the war. Diodorus was also a long-time resident at Rome (1.4.3), and therefore could have searched archives and even contacted with surviving eyewitnesses. Such anonymous contributions to the knowledge of the author, whether Posidonius or Diodorus, as well as his own autopsy, are always conceivable but seldom verifiable.<sup>63</sup> In this respect, the Photian excerpt on the Italian attempt to capture Rhegium, and the prompt and competent counter-offensive by C. Norbanus, governor of Sicily in 88-87 (*MRR*), may offer an interesting insight (37.2.13f.). This favourable picture of the anti-Sullan consul in 83 (Plut. *Sull.* 27 = Sulla F18 Peter; *Sert.* 6; Liv. *Per.* 85; Vell. 2.25.2; Flor. 2.9.18-19; Eutrop. 5.7.4; Oros. 5.20.2; App. *BC* 1.82-86) cannot originate from Sulla's autobiography. It may be that Posidonius, in addition to pro-Sullan material, also used less biased sources for his account of the Social War, which if proved would hardly be surprising. Yet it is also tempting to speculate that this incident during the last stage of the war, which is not attested outside the *Bibliothèque* (*contra* Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.8), was based on the local knowledge of Diodorus himself, who could also easily have given his native island such an epithet as found in the passage, τῆς εὐδαιμονεστάτης τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον νήσων (37.2.13).

#### 4. CAUSATION

A clear link between Rome's moral deterioration and the cause of the Social War cannot be traced in the surviving account of Diodorus, fragmented as it is. Some hints, on the other hand, have earlier been given in the famous posthumous tribute conferred upon Scipio Nasica Serapio, cos 111, in which the author directly links the elimination of all the foreign threats to Rome, notably Carthage, with the primary cause of the contemporary crises, such as civil war at home and an outbreak of

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<sup>63</sup> Cf. Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), pp. 146f. Diodorus' known use of autopsy all concerns personal observations he made during his stay in Egypt (1.44.1; 46.7; 83.8-9; 3.11.1-3; 38.1; 17.52.6), yet without doubt he must also have drawn much from his own knowledge for local Sicilian topics; see 4.24.1-6; 4.80.3-6 (on Agyrium, Diodorus' native city); cf. Drews (1962), p. 392 n. 31; Sacks (1990), pp. 112ff.

‘hatred towards Roman hegemony among all the allies’, who were subject to the greed and lawlessness (πλεονεξίαν τε καὶ παρανομίαν) of the Roman officials (34/5.33.3ff). Probably the Social War is particularly meant by the latter (συμμάχοι, and not ἐπαρχίαι), although it could well have been applied to the provinces too, where the scourge of the *publicani* was even more strongly felt. Hence the praise of some provincial governors in Asia and Sicily (and possibly in Macedonia, if we count C. Sentius), which may at first appear an odd digression in the causal explanation of the war among the Italian allies, can perfectly fit in with the same context. The likely Posidonian origin of the passage on Nasica has already been discussed; however, it has at the same time been pointed out that, rather surprisingly, the aetiological theory presented in Nasica’s obituary lacks any moral debate - a characteristically Posidonian preoccupation.<sup>64</sup>

Thankfully a clearer sign of Posidonian ethics in the aetiology of the Social War seems to emerge from other evidence. We read in Diodorus’ account of the war that Roman society degenerated into luxury because ‘most nations (read, among others, Carthage) had been subjugated and there had been a long period of peace’ (37.2.1-2; 3.1: πολυχρόνιον δὲ εἰρήνης γενομένης). An analogous notion that peace first brings moral decay and finally an utter crisis can also be found in the causal explanation of the First Slave War (34/5.2.1, 2.26), which in all probability is based on Posidonius (see Chap. 5). Furthermore, in an attested fragment Posidonius also described his own home town Syrian Apamea in much the same spirit (F54 EK), when its residents, corrupted by prosperity and luxury (cf. FF62a-b EK), had to face a war with the neighbouring town Larissa: ‘παραζωνίδια καὶ λογχάρι’ ἀνελιηφότες ἰῶι καὶ ῥύπῳ κεκρυμμένα, πετάσια δ’ ἐπιτεθειμένοι καὶ προσκόπια σκιὰν μὲν ποιοῦντα, καταπνεῖσθαι δ’ οὐ κωλύοντα τοὺς τραχήλους, ὄνους ἐφελκόμενοι γέμοντας οἴνου καὶ βρωμάτων παντοδαπῶν, οἷς παρέκειτο φωτίγγια καὶ μοναύλια, κώμων οὐ πολέμων ὄργανα.’ But again, we must be cautious: the view that peace and prosperity lead to *luxuria* and *avaritia* is certainly typical of Posidonius’ historical causality, yet not at all exclusive to him. That was no more than a conventional thought of the time: the causal chain of εἰρήνη, τρυφή and στάσις was

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<sup>64</sup> See Chap. 3, pp. 68ff.



itself typical of ancient Greek thought, traceable as early as Archilochus during the Greek overseas expansion in the seventh century BC,<sup>65</sup> and later systematically discussed by Polybius (6.57). Even in Diodorus' work itself, we find a very similar train of thought: 'the Lacedaemonians, observing the laws of Lycurgus, grew from a humble nation to the most powerful of the Greeks ... yet after that, degenerating into luxury and laziness (τρυφήν καὶ ῥαθυμίαν), and so corrupted as to use coins and accumulate wealth, they lost their hegemony' (7.12.8).<sup>66</sup> If Sparta is substituted for Rome, one might easily argue for Posidonius foretelling Rome's doomsday.

Indeed, unlike the earlier digression on contemporary Romans of high virtue, we have no Posidonian fragment of secure attribution on the Social War itself, let alone a parallel to Diodorus' narrative. Nevertheless, there are a good many similarities, conceptual and structural, between the causal analysis of the war on the one hand, and on the other, various passages in the *Bibliothèque* which I and others consider fundamentally Posidonian. First, the explanation of the 'efficient cause' leading up to the outbreak of the war - against that of the 'antecedent cause', i.e., social and moral decline of Rome - is riddled with anecdotes and chance events, thus strongly resembling in its pattern the causal explanation of the First Slave War: the setting for the hostility between Romans and Italians in Asculum Picenum, the very area which first revolted against Rome, is a theatre where a comedy is being performed, and particular prominence is given to a mere jester who calmed down the embittered Picentines in a desperate attempt to save his own life (37.12); a body of 10,000 armed Marsi which was marching towards Rome under the leadership of Poppaedi Silo is conciliated and persuaded to return home by a single plea of one C. Domitius (37.13). Incidentally, we can also note the art of presentation in these two passages: in the first of them, not only is the scene set in an actual theatre but the whole description is vividly theatrical, coloured with an emotional speech made by the jester; suffice it here to recall a very similar technique employed by Posidonius in his presentation of the tyrant Athenion and Nicias of Engyrium (FF253 and 257 EK;

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<sup>65</sup> Cf. Howie (1989), pp. 25f.

<sup>66</sup> In this passage Diodorus may be echoing his source Ephorus; see Sacks (1990), pp. 48f. Yet in an earlier book, Diodorus attributes the fall of the Assyrian empire also to the same cause, i.e., the τρυφή καὶ ῥαθυμία of its last king Sardanapallus (2.23ff.).

compare also the performance staged by Eunus in the account of the First Sicilian Slave War in 34/5.2.46). In the case of the second, it would be rather hard to find in the other books of the *Bibliothēke* such a dialogue, terse and put in *oratio recta*, as the one exchanged between Poppaediū and Domitius: Ποῖ προάγεις, Πομπαίδε ... Εἰς Ῥώμην ἐπὶ τὴν πολιτείαν. The next possible sign of a Posidonian *modus operandi* is the rôle that psychology assumes in historical causality, on which Posidonius is said to have particularly relied. For the author of the account of the Social War, μῖσος was certainly the dominant force that occasioned the struggle. It is easily detectable in those passages quoted above, and Nasica's obituary explicitly states as much (34/5.33.5: ἐκ δὲ τῶν συμμάχων ἀπάντων μῖσος εἰς ἡγεμονίαν). Μῖσος plays an essential part in the causation of the First Slave War (34/5.2.26), and recurs in other parts of the *Bibliothēke* where the philosopher is the suspected source (33.4.3; 33.6.1; 34/5.25.1; 37.6.1). Such a psychological explanation is closely bound up with the third, most important factor, namely ethics. The narrative leading to the outbreak of the war, as far as we can detect in the extant fragments, proceeds as a sequence of character portraits of the individuals involved, upon whose proper conduct or misconduct praise or blame are laid: for example Livius Drusus (37.9-11), C. Domitius (37.13) and Q. Servilius (*ibid.*). To the author of the account, impersonal factors - such as changes in the social, economic and legal structures of the time - did not so much matter as the rational or irrational behaviour of individuals. Again, this pattern of narrative structure is a replay of that of the Sicilian Slave Wars.<sup>67</sup>

Yet the notion that people in power serve as driving forces behind historic events ran right from the beginning of ancient historiography. Do dominant individuals make history move, or historical circumstances produce those individuals? This is the kind of question that has continuously been asked up to the present day, and it is thus by no means a Posidonian peculiarity. Neither is such psychology as shown above. Φόβος famously provided Thucydides with means to explain the 'real' causes of quite a few incidents, not least the entire Peloponnesian War (1.23.6), and often so did μῖσος (e.g., 1.25.3; 3.67.5; 5.27.2; 6.17.6). But the way ancient historians

<sup>67</sup> For Posidonius' psychological theory and its application to historical aetiology, see, among others, Bringmann (1986) and Hahm (1989); on his neglect of impersonal factors, see Bringmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 57ff.



looked at the qualities of the characters they were portraying was not always the same. The personal ethics of those individuals did not matter a great deal to Thucydides, for one.<sup>68</sup> It mattered a lot, for example, to Xenophon or Tacitus. Posidonius the Stoic, whose habitual practice is to explain what seemed to him the broadest aspect of the course of events by (presumably) myriads of tiniest examples of individual behaviour, was a natural subscriber to the latter circle. Hence it is worth examining in this light the treatment of the persons involved in the *causa efficiens* of the Social War.

Parallelism between the narrative of the Social War and those of the two Slave Wars becomes all the more evident in this respect, too, when Diodorus speaks of the prudence the Roman Domitius showed in his intercourse with Poppaedi and his fellow Marsians, which 'made his dealings far better than those of the praetor Servilius with the Picentines' (37.13). For Servilius, says the historian, treated the allies 'like slaves (ὡς δούλοις)', thus spurring them on to a vengeance upon himself and the others. Among the remnants of Bk. 37 we have no actual narrative concerning the investigative commission of Q. Servilius, who, together with his aide Fonteius, was murdered in Picentine Asculum (Liv. *Per.* 72; Vell. 2.15.1; App. *BC* 1.38; Oros. 5.18.8: C. Servius). And yet there is no doubt, as judged from the above reference, that in the original narrative the Roman praetor played exactly the same rôle as the Greek Damophilus did in the outbreak of the First Slave War and, to some extent, as Licinius Nerva in the second (see Chap. 5). The last reference to Servilius even echoes the figurative expression made on the fate of Damophilus: 'His ill-bred and boorish manner brought about...destruction for himself and great calamities for his country' (34/5.2.35). The obvious moral of Domitius' story, a kind of Posidonian answer to Thucydides' Melian Dialogue, is: treat your subjects (allies, in this instance) kindly. The moral of the description of Servilius' assassination would naturally have been the same. The latter episode would have constituted one of the many small supplements that illustrated the broad phenomena of the time. Thus the grand picture of the crises of the whole Roman world, as outlined in Nasica's obituary, and possible solutions for

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<sup>68</sup> This is to say, as long as one's morality did not appear to have affected his public conduct. We may certainly make an exception of Thucydides' treatment of Alcibiades.

them, are ultimately explained by the other end of the aetiological hierarchy: individuals such as Servilius and Domitius, and their ethical dispositions.<sup>69</sup> Just as Nasica Corculum's polemic clarifies the relevance of Servilius' harsh manner to the social malady as a whole, so is Domitius' moderation as a prescribed remedy easily deducible from another passage on the First Slave War, in which the author, in the context of brutal treatment of slaves, advises that 'οὐ μόνον κατὰ τὰς πολιτικὰς δυναστείας τοὺς ἐν ὑπεροχῇ ὄντας ἐπιεικῶς χρὴ προσφέρεσθαι τοῖς ταπεινότεροις, ἀλλὰ καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἰδιωτικὸν βίους πρῶως προσενεκτέον τοῖς οἰκέταις τοὺς εὖ φρονοῦντας' (34/5.2.33). What is at issue in this passage is the relationship between masters and their subjects in the state and in the household, but the author would no doubt have applied the same theory to inter-state relationships, when one state is the hegemonic power and other states are its satellites.<sup>70</sup>

I am fully aware that, all these indications notwithstanding, they are not sufficient to confirm the ultimately Posidonian origin of the passages concerned in the account of the Social War, and those notions are indeed shared by many other historians. The supremacy of one power over others can best be maintained by adhering to the same principles with which it was first acquired, said Polybius (10.36), and so did Sallust: *nam imperium facile eis artibus retinetur quibus initio partum est* (*Cat.* 2.4-6). To complicate the matter, Diodorus himself, the one who is actually transmitting the text in question, also had an empire-management theory of his own not dissimilar to the one demonstrated in the above paragraphs. Of Athens, he states that the city first treated its allies with moderation (11.50.8) but later, when its hold of power was firmly established, began to rule them βιαίως καὶ ὑπερηφάνως (11.70.3); exactly the same process of deterioration is said to have characterised the Spartan rule, too, from the initial modesty (12.76.2) to the final brutality (15.1.3). Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, stirred up the Carthaginian allies to breaking away from the empire

<sup>69</sup> Cf. Desideri (1972), p. 485. On the murder of Q. Servilius, see Salmon (1967), pp. 337-9.

<sup>70</sup> This view of Posidonius' theory on the Roman governance was put forward most vigorously by Strasburger (1967) and Desideri (1972), while Sacks (1990), pp. 152ff., raises some doubts about it, on the basis that such a sentiment cannot be found outside the *Bibliothèque*. I would rather take a middle course: the choice of 'Posidonian material' from later tradition by those scholars cannot always be secured, but there is precious little evidence that all the comments critical of Rome in the 'Posidonian' narrative of the *Bibliothèque* are Diodorus' own insertion.



by treating them moderately (15.15.1). There are many other passages which display more or less the same sort of sentiment (14.90.3; 15.29.8; 31.1; 26.17.1; 28.15.1). In all these instances the relationship between an empire and its subject states is described in terms of φιλανθρωπία and/or ἐπιείκεια. Probably the most extensive version of Diodorus' empire-maintenance theory is in a (presumably fictitious) speech by a Syracusan Nicolaus, an extensive discussion on the right way of exercising leadership over others; the speaker several times brings forward the keywords φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια (13.21.7ff., esp. 13.22.1).<sup>71</sup>

Diodorus makes his point very clear in the proem to Bk. 15, in a severe criticism of the Spartans: maintenance of an empire or a failure to sustain it depends on the exercise of equity and moderation or a lack of them. The Spartan folly lay in the fact that they had abandoned the qualities through which their ancestors had created trust in Sparta (15.1).<sup>72</sup> Thus his model comes close to the view expressed by Polybius and Sallust. For the empire of the Romans, there are only two relevant passages: the first, the part of the proem to Bk. 32 already discussed in Chap.3 (32.2 and 4), was probably a cynical picture of the reality of Roman rule, as Diodorus saw it, rather than an expression of a coherent theory of empire-management.<sup>73</sup> The other passage is more consistent with the Diodoran picture of model empire so far observed, when he says that during the Third Macedonian War the Senate managed to keep the majority of the Greeks on its side by constant acts of benevolence towards them (30.8.1). That passage is followed by an approving comment that '(in this way) the Roman senate of those days left sorts of models and patterns for those striving for empire...' The fragment appears in a context where Diodorus is closely following Polybius Bk. 28 (or Bk. 27), but among the remnants of these Polybian books, any remark that corresponds to this particular fragment cannot be found. Polybius may

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<sup>71</sup> This passage on the Syracusan debate has often been attributed to Timaeus or Ephorus; cf. the bibliography in Drews (1962), p. 386 n. 14 and 15; Drews, *op. cit.*, pp. 386f., while rejecting a Timaeian or Ephoran origin of the passage, suggests that Diodorus may have 'disinterred them (sc. the speeches) from a schoolmaster's textbook.' However, Sacks (1990), pp. 101-105, rightly recognises most of the sentiments expressed in Nicolaus' speech to be Diodorus' own.

<sup>72</sup> Diodorus' theory of empire, based on the principle of φιλανθρωπία and/or ἐπιείκεια, is also discussed in detail by Sacks (1990), pp. 42-46 and 51-54; *id.* (1994), pp. 216ff.

<sup>73</sup> See Chap. 3, p. 70.

indeed have made a similar statement (why should he not?) in passages now lost. In any case, Polybius was particularly influential on Diodorus' philosophy of history, and ever since Panaetius such a view on the right exercise of power as referred to above had become a commonplace among Greek and Latin authors alike. In this intellectual climate, Posidonius' and Diodorus' opinions would easily become indistinguishable. In fact, the above passage on master-subject relationships from the narrative of the Slave War features the typically Diodoran term ἐπεικῶς, implying a lexical intrusion by the historian himself.

However, one must also note that in the aetiology of the Social War the subject of the discussion is the Romans and the Italians, the former depicted as treating the latter 'like slaves'; the victims are poor Italians, who are exposed to the πλεονεξία and παρανομία of arrogant Roman magistrates; and when they take up arms against Rome, they are designated as 'ἄποσταταί' (37.13.2) like those slaves who rose up during the Sicilian Wars. Here may be the clue: I do not think Diodorus looked at the event in that way. Between this picture of Italian sorrow, painted in the main narrative of the war, and Diodorus' own introduction to Bk. 37 lie considerable discrepancies of perspective of the same Italians. In the introduction they are not helpless subordinates to the Roman Empire, bound to remain more or less in the same degree of misery as the provincials. On the contrary, the honour of the victories in the past wars fought by Rome is equally accorded to the Italians as its centuries long solid allies, and the emphasis is put on the Romans and the Italians versus their common foreign enemies (37.1.4-6). This would not entirely be due to the rhetorical effect which the nature of this particular composition demands.

Diodorus will not have felt the same degree of sympathy towards the Italic peoples who fought the Social War as he may well have towards the provincials: even without Roman citizenship and with as little influence (and as few privileges) as a provincial had on the policies of the Roman state, they were after all *socii* of Rome, with their own governing bodies and jurisdiction.<sup>74</sup> As these Italian *socii* were acquiring the status of *municipia civium Romanorum* as a result of the Social War

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<sup>74</sup> For the varied administrative status of the Italian towns before the Social War, see Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), pp. 16ff., and p. 374 n.17 for bibliography; also Salmon (1982), *passim*.



and their citizens more equitable suffrage after the year 88, our historian, a provincial himself, or anybody else in his position, would hardly have dared put them on a par with the provincials.<sup>75</sup> For him the Social War was a war that was fought, by the Romans *and* the Italians, for φιλοτιμία (37.1.6). In fact, Diodorus often appears critical of the Italians for their greed and exploitations in the provinces, usually following Rome's conquest of the same areas: the description of metal mining in Spain in Bk. 5, where we have a Posidonian parallel in Strabo (3.2.9 = F239 EK), contains a rebuke for the greed of the Italians who came to run the mines, combined with their excessive use of slaves (5.36.3-4; 38.1-3). As it is not recorded in Strabo, this criticism may be an expression of Diodorus' own feeling towards the Italians. Of course it is equally possible that Strabo, from some pro-Italian sympathy or out of his typical casualness, deleted those lines when he adopted the Posidonian material; one must not overlook the fact that one of the focal points of the description is the hardship of the slaves employed there, a strong reminiscence of the earlier chapters in the account of the First Slave War. Yet Posidonius, in another fragment, stresses the frugality of the Italians that can be found 'even up to our own time (καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι)' (F267 EK). This forms an odd contrast to what can only be deemed to be a venomous humour when Diodorus concludes the chapters on the mines: 'for...the rôle of the Phoenicians from ancient times was to make discoveries to their gain, and of those from Italy to leave nothing behind for anybody else' (5.38.3).<sup>76</sup> This statement is again absent in Strabo's account. Diodorus' possible ambivalence - if not a sheer hostility - towards the Italians may also be shown in the predated criticism of the 'Italian' landowners in the account of the First Slave War (Chap. 5); he may really have meant 'Roman' by 'Italian', yet it then would be a good testimony that Diodorus failed to make a clear distinction between the Romans and the Italians. In fact, at least by the time Diodorus conceived his literary undertaking - or even earlier - the

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<sup>75</sup> The process of the Romanisation of Italy, in a formal juridical sense, was initiated by the *Lex Julia* during the Social War (90); see Salmon (1967), pp. 360ff. For the general course of the Italian acquisition of a share of power, see Salmon (1982), pp. 126-133.

<sup>76</sup> For a source criticism of these passages on Spanish mines, see Chap. 2, pp. 39-41; for the Roman exploitation of the Spanish mines during the period described, see Richardson (1976). One cannot, however, take Diodorus' possible criticism of the Italians as evidence of his - as opposed to Posidonius' - criticism of Rome, as Sacks (1990), pp. 152-154 is tempted to do.

Romanisation of Italy was so thorough that 'Italians and Romans had become virtually indistinguishable' and some local Italian notables were already acquiring highest Roman magistracies.<sup>77</sup>

The historian may well have rephrased much of his source again, as we find every so often that pair of Diodoran clichés φιλάνθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια in various parts of the passages so far discussed.<sup>78</sup> Diodorus may possibly have paraphrased in this way in order to make a thesis that was similar to his own conform also in the terminology he had employed to enunciate his own thesis. For the view that a superpower, having achieved complete domination over others - in this case specifically the elimination of *metus Punicus* - starts treating its satellites harshly would have perfectly corresponded to Diodorus' model of past empires (see above). When, however, those three factors - peace, decline of social morals and magnanimous leader-turned-tyrant - are put together into causal relationship, with more emphasis being placed on the second step than on the third, such a process appears closer to the theme recurrent in many fragments of Posidonius than the pattern found in 'the history of empires' of the *Bibliothēke*. Furthermore, hatred incurred among subordinate states towards their Big Brother is not the only outcome that a decay of his morality brings about. The proponent, if not the architect (Polybius had a similar thesis already), of this sociology also puts forward another consequence of equal gravity: civil strife within the walls of the imperial city (34/5.33.5). Again, such a proposition is rarely found in the other books of the *Bibliothēke*. Perhaps the closest parallel to this model will be found in Sallust, who also took the view that Rome's supremacy had brought its own social decadence and the latter, in turn, internal crises above all (*Cat.* 10-13; cf. *Jug.* 41; *Vell.* 2.1.1-2; *Flor.* 1.31.1; *Oros.* 4.23.9). The sufferings of its allies did have a place in his analysis, yet a very small one (*Cat.* 12.5). Polybius, too, attributed the cause of the decline of empire more to the moral decay of its citizen body (e.g. 6.57). On the other hand, Diodorus in his analysis of empires pays little attention to the corrupting effect on its citizens of the wealth

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<sup>77</sup> Salmon (1982), p.140ff. On the question of the large-scale Italian presence in Sicily at the time of the First Slave War, see Chap. 5, pp. 167ff.

<sup>78</sup> For example 37.8.2 (on the Sicilian governor Asellio); 37.10.2 (on the character of the Drusi); 34/5.33.5 (part of Nasica's polemic); 34/5.2.33 (discussing the treatment of one's subjects in the account of the First Slave War).



brought by the creation of an empire.<sup>79</sup> Looking at the evidence as a whole, the conceptual 'substance' of the aetiology of the Social War parallels far more closely Posidonian Stoicism than it does Diodorus' empire-management theory. At best, Diodorus could only have felt some sympathy with the explanation Posidonius was offering; certainly he was critical of the 'present-day Romans' when, on recounting the frugality of Aemilius Paullus, he clearly diverges from his source Polybius and inserts a little grumble of his own about the greed of 'this people'.<sup>80</sup> Yet when the question arises as to whether he appreciated or even properly understood the broader background picture attached to Posidonius' aetiology of the Social War, it is rather doubtful that he did.

## 5. THE NARRATIVE

The main bulk of the war narrative derives from Photius' hasty summary, thus making itself rather a matter-of-fact description in content - very much like that of the Second Sicilian Slave War. Nevertheless, where some details have managed to survive the patriarch's ruthless abbreviation, we can observe certain narrative patterns that may well be deemed 'Posidonian'. For instance, see the detailed - even in Photius' epitome - description of the political arrangements of the Italian rebel groups, which precedes the actual narrative of the war (37.2.4-7); such attentiveness to the political organisation of the opposing side is also apparent in the account of the first (34/5.2.15-16) and second (36.4.4-5; 7) Slave Wars.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Sacks (1990), pp. 46-51, correctly points out that the association of internal decay and loss of empire is an idea foreign to Diodorus' own model, and further argues that the historian even tries to avoid it when his sources, such as Ephorus and Timaeus, articulate a similar theme. For the lack of a causal link between *τροφή* - *luxuria* and the decline of empire in Nasica's polemic and a possible editing on the part of Diodorus, see Chap. 3, pp. 68ff.

<sup>80</sup> Compare Plb. 31.22.8: εἰ δ' ἀπίστω τὸ λεγόμενον εἰκέναι δόξει τισὶν, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ λαμβάνειν ἐν νῶ, διότι σαφῶς ὁ γράφων ἥδει μάλιστα Ῥωμαίους ἀναληψομένους εἰς τὰς χεῖρας τὰ βυβλία ταῦτα διὰ τὸ τὰς ἐπιφανεστάτας καὶ τὰς πλείστας αὐτῶν πράξεις ἐν τούτοις περιέχεσθαι and Diod. 31.26.2: εἰ δὲ ἀπιστόν τι φάνηται τὸ λεγόμενον, ἐκεῖνο δεῖ λογίζεσθαι, ὅτι οὐ χρή τὴν τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀφιλαργυρίαν ἐκ τῆς νῦν Ῥωμαίων πλεονεξίας τεκμαίρεσθαι. ἐπὶ γὰρ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου μεγίστην ὁρμὴν τοῦτο τὸ ἔθνος ἐσχηκέναι δοκεῖ πρὸς τὴν τοῦ πλείονος ἐπιθυμίαν; see also Walton (1957), p. 379 n. 1.

<sup>81</sup> Yet the analogy made between the political arrangement of the Italian rebels and that of Republican Rome is not strictly adequate, as Salmon (1967), pp. 349f., points out, since the number of the senators and that of the praetors in the Italians' joint government did not



From the same narrative it is also clear that its ultimate author sought to interrelate the Social War to the other internal and external burdens of the Empire at that time, as he had envisaged a common *fons et origo* behind them. For example, the narrative calls its readers' attention to the abortive attempt by the Italian rebels to appeal to Mithridates, who had by then dominated much of Asia Minor (37.2.11). Curiously, these Italian embassies to the King of Pontus are also mentioned in a Posidonian fragment, deriving from a quite different context: that is, in a speech by the philosopher-tyrant Athenion to the Athenian mob (Athen. 5.213C = F253 EK). Apart from these two passages, there is no reference to this episode among the extant authors, even in Appian's *Mithridatica*.<sup>82</sup> At a later stage in the narrative, with the Social War lingering on, the fear arises that it will spill over to Sicily, which the rebels vainly tried to seize in order to secure its resources (37.2.13-14). This was probably a natural process of events for a writer who was acutely aware of the chain-effect between unrest in Southern Italy, the central stage of the current conflict, and Sicily, where only a decade or so had passed since the suppression of the second slave revolt. For it seems that the same author had already conceived this geopolitical relationship between Southern Italy and the island in his explanation of the Second Slave War (36.2 and 2a).<sup>83</sup> Finally, the passage - uniquely among ancient traditions as I have observed - makes the later stage of the Social War merge into yet another crisis of the time, the Civil Wars, and concludes with an anticipatory sketch of the course of events down to Sulla's victory in 82 (37.2.12f.). This all-in-one panorama presented in the *Bibliothèque*, which covers not only central and Southern Italy but - not to

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correspond to those of the Roman counterparts in 91 (37.2.5-2.7); the number of Italian praetors simply corresponded to the number of rebel peoples. Superficial observation? But also note: 'as they ... arranged their own government, for the most part (τὸ σύνολον φάναι) on the model of the time-honoured Roman pattern...' (37.2.7). Cf. Strabo, 5.4.2; Vell. 2.16.4 - both Diodorus and Strabo are believed to have used for this particular piece of information the common single source, Posidonius. For the constitution of the Italian rebels, see Salmon (1967), pp. 348-352; for bibliography, see Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), p. 405 n. 9.

<sup>82</sup> For the numismatic evidence of this episode, see Salmon (1967), pp. 370f. In the same speech, Athenion mentions another detail which is again reported by Diodorus too: that the sympathisers in the Asiatic cities were hailing the king as 'god'. The Diodoran reference to this episode appears in the same Bk. 37 (37.26).

<sup>83</sup> See Chap. 5, p. 152-154. According to Cicero, however, there was no danger then of the Social War spreading over into Sicily, or of the outbreak of another slave revolt (*Verr.* 2.5.8). He also attests that the island served as a chief supplier of grain and clothes to the Roman side during the same war (*Verr.* 2.2.5); here may be one reason why the rebels, in their desperate effort to regain the upper hand, turned their eyes to Sicily.



mention Rome - the whole Mediterranean, is perfectly consistent with Posidonius' general picture of the war as demonstrated in the previous section. Indeed, it was in all probability meant to serve as factual underpinning of his aetiology.

Such is the overall perspective of the war that Photius has left to us. His extract traces the general course of the conflict, reflecting the conscious attempt of the original author (I mean Diodorus' source) to link it to the other troubles of the time, yet at the same time obscuring by robust abridgement (much to our regret) the arts of presentation which must have been deployed in the original. The events described in it are those which mark the important turning points in the war, each of which one might imagine as the summit of a pyramid built upon innumerable incidents of varied significance. On the other hand, the fragments on the war preserved by the Constantinian excerptors focus upon the bottom of the pyramid, indulging in blow-by-blow description of individual episodes that took place during the course of the struggle. Among them, one finds an emotional change of heart between Marius' Roman soldiers and their adversaries led by Poppaedi (37.15), the fragment being the only reference to this episode in the tradition of the war;<sup>84</sup> or a Cilician desperado collaborating with the rebellious Picentines (37.16); a Cretan trading betrayal with the Roman consul (37.18); the besieged Aesernians selfishly seeking their own safety (37.19.1-2); Italian rebels threatening to kill the children of the Pinnaeans in front of the city walls (37.19.4-20.1); Roman and Italian soldiers deprived of food fighting endlessly over crops in front of them (37.24). They are all presented with deliberately theatrical effects, like scenes from a tragedy or even on occasion a comedy.<sup>85</sup>

Curiously enough, all the events recounted in those *Excerpts* - unlike in the case of the First Slave War - are altogether neglected by Photius, and the language of each shows little, if any, correspondence. It looks as if Photius and the Byzantine excerptors had been consulting not the same *Bibliothèque* but two different sources respectively.<sup>86</sup> Hence the difficulty in fitting together the two different approaches to

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<sup>84</sup> Compare a rather contrary, yet more plausible, account in Plut. *Mar.* 33.2; *Apophth.* *Mar.* 6; see also Liv. *Per.* 73 and 74; Vell. 2.16.4; App. *BC* 1.46.

<sup>85</sup> For the similarly episodic and 'tragic' nature of the account of the slave wars, see Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 191ff.

<sup>86</sup> Rizzo (1976) in his interesting article points out a similar difference of perspective between Photius' extract and those of the *Excerpts* concerning the First Sicilian Slave War;



create a composite picture of what Diodorus wrote. It may be that all the intermediate links that originally connected Photius' grand perspective and the excerptors' minutiae have been lost by mere chance. However, if the original narrative had really covered every level of the pyramid with such a degree of precise detail as shown by the *Excerpts*, we would have to assume that it was rather inconceivably long as a whole: too long, probably, for Bk. 37 to contain within a span of mere two years or so. It would be more practical, therefore, to suggest that the original narrative as a whole consisted largely of vivid descriptions of small incidents, whereas the general progression of the war - which for many other historians would be the focal point of their accounts - was only briefly outlined. We have also observed the similarly episodic nature of the aetiology of the war, and I think both of these examples demonstrate characteristically Posidonian arts of historical presentation. This is not to say that he declined to recount an important development of the war for its own sake: his attentiveness to factual accuracy is well attested, for example, in the earlier description of the Italians' political and military arrangements according to their ethnic divisions (37.2.4-7).<sup>87</sup> Nevertheless, the philosopher seems to have been interested primarily in vivid and rhetorical presentation of *exempla* that illuminate his psychological and ethical theories rather than in conventional war narrative. This methodology can also be attested by some of the Posidonian fragments outside the *Bibliothèque*, and is above all exemplified in the historically problematic 'Athenion episode' (F253 EK) or in the story of a Sicilian Nicias of Engyium (F257 EK).<sup>88</sup>

Precisely in those Constantinian excerpts, therefore, we may look for Posidonius pulling out all the rhetorical stops, despite the scantiness of the extant

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he then claims that Diodorus wrote two separate accounts of the same episode, reflecting two different sources he used - one Posidonius, the other somebody else. Yet one must note that this supposed discrepancy derives partly from the different criteria Photius and the Constantinian excerptors employed respectively (see Chap. 1), and, as I shall be discussing here, largely to Posidonius' rather unique method of composition - namely his technique of illustrating grand historical trends with episodic minutiae. At any rate, the divergence between those two groups of extracts in Diodorus' account of the First Slave War does not seem as large as that of the Social War, and certainly not as momentous as to support Rizzo's *Zweiquellentheorie* (see also Chap. 5, *passim*)

<sup>87</sup> See Salmon (1967), pp. 343ff.

<sup>88</sup> See Kidd (1989), pp. 42-46: 'The choice of incident and its dramatisation betray a moralist's view of historiography, where the relation of events may for a time be side-tracked for an examination of the moral behaviour and conditions which cause them'; hence the frustrations, too, felt by modern historians such as Badian (1976), *passim*.



fragments concerning the Social War. First of all, nearly all the phenomena reported in them are explained in terms of πάθη, a topic central to Posidonius' moral philosophy: τῶν στρατευμάτων ἀμφοτέρων χαρᾶς καὶ καλῶν ἐλπίδων πληρουμένων, ἡ πᾶσα σύνοδος ἐκ πολεμικῆς τάξεως εἰς πανηγυρικὴν διάθεσιν μετέπεσε (37.15); διὰ τὴν ἐυεργεσίαν προθύμως (37.16); ἠναγκάζοντο κατεξανίστασθαι τῶν περὶ ψυχὴν παθῶν (37.20).<sup>89</sup> From Thucydides to Livy, a tradition of 'psychological historiography' had established a theme that the extremity of a situation drives men insane and often reduces them to the humblest conduct: ὁ δὲ πόλεμος ὑφελὼν τὴν εὐπορίαν τοῦ καθ' ἡμέραν βίαιος διδάσκαλος καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρόντα τὰς οργὰς τῶν πολλῶν ὁμοιοῖ (Thuc. 3.82.2; see also the account of the Athenian Plague in 2.53ff.). For the author of the account of the First Slave War, too, it was the slaves' economic plight that compelled them to rise up, and it seems that Posidonius again exploited a similar theme in the narrative of the Social War:<sup>90</sup> thus one finds the starving Aesernians forced to eat dogs and abandon all the proprieties by the necessity of nature (ἡ τῆς φύσεως ἀνάγκη) (37.19.2), or the Roman and Italian soldiers who contested over harvests impelled to bravery through the compulsion of privation: ἡ φύσις αὐτὴ προετρέπετο πρὸς τὴν ἀλκὴν, προβάλλουσα τὴν τῆς ἐνδείας ἀνάγκην, for they preferred 'to die by the sword rather than by privation' (37.24). A fragment that depicts Italian besiegers of Pinna killing the children of the same ethnic group, having failed to persuade them to revolt (37.19.4-20.1), also falls into this category, as well as into the tradition of 'tragic historiography': the children about to be killed raise their hands to heaven under the city walls and beg their fathers to save the lives of their own children.<sup>91</sup> Preceding this passage is an interesting observation of women of Pinna, who foresaw the impending calamity in the future 'by some natural means of calling up images (κατὰ τινὰς φυσικὰς εἰδωλοποιίας)' (37.19.3): this is well comparable with the agonising picture of Marius' dying days, preserved in

<sup>89</sup> The Posidonian theory on the rôle of πάθη in the working of human psychology can best be reconstructed from his essay Περὶ παθῶν ('On affections'), preserved by Galen.

<sup>90</sup> The proposer of this notion in Diodorus' account of the First Slave War is doubtless Posidonius (see Chap. 5).

<sup>91</sup> Pinna was a rather unimportant Vestinian town, probably with a pro-Roman and a secessionist parties rivalling each other at that time, and the besieging Italians were also Vestini; Val. Max. 5.4. ext. 7; Salmon (1967), p. 353. Thus this incident must have looked to the author like a classic case of Greek στάσις.



Plutarch (*Mar.* 45) and Diodorus (37.29.3f.), which certainly derives from Posidonius, for whom a vivid mental image was an important stimulus in the irrational working of human psychology.<sup>92</sup>

Posidonius let his philosophical and psychological theories, which were not bound to the historical developments of a particular time, dictate his interpretation of historical events.<sup>93</sup> And so one of the ways in which those minute *exempla* discussed above were significant for Posidonius was as illuminative of those theories. Yet at the same time he was concerned to link them (disguised as anecdotes) by deduction with the causes of the grand decadence of the contemporary Roman Empire. Hence a reference to one Agamemnon, a Cilician brigand - presumably a pirate - who after being released from imprisonment by the Italic rebels fought on their side and devastated Roman territory (37.16). Widespread piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean was another headache of the Empire at that time, and it has often been believed that ancient traditions (notably in Strabo, Plutarch and Appian) on the development of Cilician piracy and Pompey's subsequent maritime campaigns in 67 ultimately go back to Posidonius. Whatever the validity of this 'Posidonian hypothesis' behind the accounts of piracy in these authors, Posidonius was a naturalised Rhodian and once served as prytanis of the island. Thus he will not have failed to perceive the universal danger of Cilician piracy - not least its rôle in the slave trade, which principally supplied slave labour from the east to the western provinces such as Sicily and, more recently, its associations with Mithridates.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>92</sup> For the question of the source of the parallel passages on Marius in Plutarch and Diodorus, see Chap. 6, pp. 192ff. Although neither εἰδωλον nor εἰδωλοποιίας appears in the attested Posidonian fragments, he did use synonymous words such as ἀναζωγράφησις (F162); the importance of 'mental images' in his psychological theory has been well demonstrated by Hahm (1989), pp. 1349 and 1353ff. In Diodorus the word εἰδωλον occurs twenty one times, most of them (16 times) in Bks. 1-4, which deal with the mythological periods; it is hardly (if at all) used in historical contexts; apart from this passage, the word εἰδωλοποιός occurs only once (1.96.5) (TLG).

<sup>93</sup> See Hahm (1989), esp. pp. 1348-1361; Kidd (1989).

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Diod. 36.3 (the aetiology of the Second Slave War), on the complaints of the Bithynian king Nicomedes; see also Strasburger (1965), p. 50; Malitz (1983), pp. 134-136, 164-168. That is not to say, however, that Posidonius' *Histories* covered as far as the events of the 60s, or that Diodorus was still using the work for this period (cf. 40.1; 4). On the question of the hypothetical Posidonian monograph on Pompey, and its implications for the *Quellenfrage* of the accounts of piracy in Appian, Plutarch and Strabo, see Chap. 6, pp. 189f. and pp. 218ff.



The conceptual framework of the narrative in these fragments thus strongly reflects Posidonius' arts of presentation as far as we can judge. This is not so true of the language, however. The above passages on individual behaviour are, predictably, often accompanied by an ethical - should I rather say anti-ethical - lexicon. One might appropriately ask whether we should also attribute those words to Posidonius. Few of them are attested in the actual Posidonian fragments, and the only justification for assuming that *some* of them may reflect the 'Posidonian vocabulary' - whatever that may mean - derives from the fact that they occur with unusual frequency in Bks. 33-38/9, which on other grounds can be said to be based on Posidonius: *μιαιφονία* (37.15.2), for instance, appears fifteen times out of twenty two in total, and *ὠμότης διαφέρουσα* 'surpassing cruelty' (37.19.5), as a phrase, has several analogous expressions in those books, such as *ὑπερβάλλειν ὠμότητι* (33.14.3; 34/5.21) and *ἡ ὑπερβολή τῆς ὠμότητος* (33.14.3, 15.1; 34/5.29). They are often paired with *παρανομία*, and used especially when corrupt Hellenistic monarchs or brutal slave owners are being described. Yet as it turns out, these lexical features are not really evidence for the supposed 'Posidonian vocabulary', since one can easily come across almost identical formulae in Polybius too (1.88.8: *ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομία διενηνοχότα*; 4.20.2: *διήνεγκαν...ὠμότητι καὶ παρανομία*; 14.12.4: *ὠμότητος καὶ παρανομίας*; 24.3.1: *τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς... ὠμότητος*; 32.5.5: *ὠμότητα καὶ παρανομίαν*.); only *μιαιφονία* has no attested instance in the extant text of the historian. Diodorus himself, when closely following Polybius, also employs the set phrase *ὠμότης καὶ παρανομία* (31.31; 32.9a), as if he had meant it to be a negative equivalent of *ἐπιείκεια καὶ φιλάνθρωπία*.<sup>95</sup>

In fact, the overall linguistic features of the fragments do not strike one as something exotic in the *Bibliothēke* as a whole; words such as *φιλάνθρωπία* (37.15.2), *εὐεργεσία* (37.16.1, 18.1) and *παρανομία* (37.16.1) are already well-

<sup>95</sup> Note also *ἀσέβεια*, another word frequently used both in Polybius and the 'Posidonian' books of Diodorus in conjunction with *ὠμότης* and/or *παρανομία*: Plb., 1.84.10 (*ἀσεβεία καὶ παρανομία*); 8.8.4 (*ἀσέβειαν...καὶ παρανομίαν*); 9.26.8 (*οἱ μὲν ἀσέβειαν, οἱ δ' ὠμότητα*); 13.6.4 (*ἀσέβειαν καὶ παρανομίαν*); 15.20.4 (*τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς ἀσεβείας καὶ τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὠμότητος*); 15.22.3 (*τῆς...ὠμότητος...τὴν ἐπ' ἀσεβείᾳ δόξαν*); 18.54.10 (*τὸν μὲν Ἀσεβείας, τὸν δὲ Παρανομίας*).



established Diodoran commonplaces.<sup>96</sup> An illuminating example of Diodorus' working method in dealing with his source comes from a passage on the slaves of Aesernia, who, kicked out of the city by their masters, 'made good the ὀμότης of their masters with the ἐπιείκεια of their enemies' (37.19). Outside the account of the First Slave War, this is the only instance in which ἐπιείκεια is used of the consideration given towards slaves, although the cases of the occurrence of the word itself are numerous throughout the *Bibliothēke*.<sup>97</sup> If we are to assume that Diodorus' account of the Slave Wars is largely based on Posidonian material, which I think it is (see Chap. 5), this tiny episode during the Social War will also fall into the sphere of the philosopher's interest rather than that of Diodorus. At the same time, it will show that Diodorus is transmitting, as on a good many other occasions, the Posidonian interpretation of history only through the filter of his own language - like ἐπιείκεια.<sup>98</sup>

Yet to screen one's source through one's own choice of words already means, to come to the point, to let one's own understanding of it slip in. Indeed, in some instances Diodorus may even have gone beyond that. For example, speaking of the besieged Pinnaeans, he employs the word παράστημα. Their 'desperate courage', says our historian, 'filled up their lack of numbers': 'τοιαῦτα γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς ψυχῆς παραστήματα κατὰ τοὺς ἀγῶνας ὥστε...' (37.21). This quite rare word, not cited in the Posidonian fragments, appears six times in the *Bibliothēke* (17.10.6; 11.4; 21.2; 26.14.2; 30.12.1; 37.21.1), all but one of them forming an identical (τὰ παραστήματα τῆς ψυχῆς: 17.11.4; 21.2 and the above fragment) or a synonymous phrase (17.10.6: τοῖς παραστήμασιν ἀνδρειότερον...χρησάμενοι; 30.12.1: τὰ

<sup>96</sup> εὐεργεσία appears in the *Bibliothēke* one hundred and fourteen times, distributed fairly evenly throughout the work (TLG); see also Table 1 in Chap. 2, p. 57.

<sup>97</sup> φιλανθρωπία, on the other hand, is once used concerning slaves in an earlier book of Diodorus (11.89.7). For those words and the analysis of slave-master relationship, see my discussion in Chap. 5, pp. 157-166.

<sup>98</sup> Among the 'Posidonian' fragments, there are in fact two instances of the word. However, one of them (F133 EK) has nothing to do with ethics but meteorology (τὸ πέρας τῆς ἐπιεικῶς διακεκριμένης ἀτμίδος) and the primary reference is made to Aristotle, not to Posidonius. The other (F257 EK), preserved by Plutarch, is indeed coupled with φιλανθρωπία in connexion with Marcellus; and yet, since the passages in question are apparently irrelevant to the context of the main body of the Posidonian citation, a bizarre story told of a Sicilian Nicias, Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.898f., judges that they are Plutarch's own remarks. Thus despite the assumption by Malitz (1983), pp. 363f., the original context of this fragment in Posidonius was certainly not Rome's humane foreign policies.



παραστήματα τῶν ἀνδρῶν).<sup>99</sup> The historical contexts vary, but the underlying, or often explicit, belief is always the same throughout: vigour arising from desperation could make up for numerical inferiority in a war. Certainly this notion, apart from the fact that it can be found in non-Posidonian narrative, is least expected to come from a philosopher who valued reason above all. Another sign of the likely presence of Diodorus' own thought is the occasional appearance of τύχη in the account of the war (37.1.6, part of the Diodoran proem; 12.1; 17.1). One passage even takes the form of a moral *sententia*, clearly the reason why the Constantinian excerptor chose to record it: 'Fortune is wont to turn towards what is right, and to involve those who have contrived some injustice against others in mishaps on themselves' (37.17.1). It is true that the theme often recurs in the (basically Posidonian) account of the First Slave War (34/5.2.9; 2.13; 2.33; 2.40) and the closest realisation of it comes when Eunus spared the lives only of those who had previously treated him kindly/generously (φιλανθρωπῶς) at a banquet: 'So it was possible to be astonished at the sudden reversal of τύχη, and at the fact that their εὐεργεσία in the meanest things was repaid opportunely and with so great a favour' (34/5.2.41). As will be seen, however, this idea of moral repayment or retaliation is rather at odds with Posidonius' diagnosis of an insurgence, either by slaves or by Italian allies, as 'mental malady.'<sup>100</sup> In addition, the idea of ἡ τύχη as a driving force of history is virtually absent in the attested Posidonian tradition. Needless to say, the most famous proponent of this view was Posidonius' predecessor Polybius (for all his various and often confusing use of τύχη), and partly under his influence, and partly from the shared perception of the Hellenistic divinity, Diodorus himself frequently invokes it too, irrespective of the particular sources he used.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Josephus is one of the other few who often favours παράστημα; of its sixteen occurrences in the *Bellum Judaicum*, eight have the same locution: τὸ παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς. Dionysius of Halicarnassus also speaks of παράστημα τῆς ψυχῆς, but in a different context (*Dem.* 22).

<sup>100</sup> See Chap. 5, p. 182. In fact one of the attested Posidonian fragments in Athenaeus does imply the idea of 'just retaliation', not by τύχη in this instance but by δαιμόνιον. Referring to Mithridates' enslavement of the Chians, cited from Posidonius and Nicolaus, it adds: 'So truly did the daimonion vent his wrath on them, who were the first to use purchased slaves' (F51 EK). This remark, however, is perhaps Athenaeus' own composition and not from Posidonius; Hahn (1989), p. 1358 n. 52; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.276f.

<sup>101</sup> The only reference to ἡ τύχη in Posidonius' historical narrative can be found in the Athenion fragment (F253 EK: τὸ παράδοξον τῆς τύχης θαυμάζοντες), yet its usage is no



In the foregoing discussions I have argued for the fundamentally Posidonian origin of the aetiology and war narrative of the Social War, best demonstrated by the economy of the narrative that refuses a strictly chronological framework and various techniques of literary presentation that concur with those found in other traditions more securely attributable to the philosopher. At the same time I have also tried to show how Diodorus, in reworking this Posidonian material, on many occasions intruded into his source, not only stylistically, but by that very intrusion, intellectually too - often in apparent if unintended disagreement with Posidonius' historical and philosophical views. Admittedly, we will never know exactly how much Diodorus would have translated the Posidonian history-philosophy into his own - unless the hypothetical 'Posidonian' original were to be discovered - not least because the ethical principles of each will not have differed very much on the whole, or rather, because Diodorus perhaps did not find it necessary to be particularly polemical towards Posidonius (as he did towards Timaeus). And that may be one reason why we never find a single Diodoran reference to the philosopher among the extant material of the *Bibliothēke*.<sup>102</sup>

Finally, I refer to a small passage from the narrative of the Social War, which may illustrate such an intellectual interaction between Diodorus and his source Posidonius, and the general difficulty of differentiating between the two brains. That is a fragment in which Diodorus, setting the vigour of the Italians and that of the Romans against one another, remarks as follows: 'the Italians, who had many times fought vigorously on behalf of the empire of the Romans, now surpassed their previous victories in bravery (ἀνδραγαθία) as they were putting themselves at risk'

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more than a commonplace. In Diodorus, on the other hand, ἡ τύχη is prevalent throughout his work as a determining factor in historical causation; yet, as Sacks (1990), p. 39, correctly points out, his τύχη is 'more particularistic and ephemeral', as opposed to that of Polybius, which was all but the ultimate force of a universal historical development (1.4; cf. 36.17); see the discussion in Sacks, *op. cit.*, pp. 38-41.

<sup>102</sup> For this reason a linguistic survey of the stylistic differences between Diodorus' composition and the Posidonian fragments - such that one finds in Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), esp. pp. 144f. - do not help much to reject the ultimately Posidonian authority behind a passage of the *Bibliothēke*. Generally speaking, when we have parallels between these two authors, it can be shown that Diodorus often embroidered Posidonius' concise descriptions (see Chap. 2).



(37.22). In assessments of the Italians, the closest parallel to this picture is no doubt the proposition in Diodorus' own proem to Bk. 37, that Roman victories in the past were to be credited to the ἀνδραγαθία of both the Romans and the Italians, and hence the war they fought between themselves for φιλοτιμία reached extreme magnitude (37.1.6). In this fragment, too, the word ἀνδραγαθία - another Diodoran favourite - is repeated, the only difference being that it is never pretended that the 'Marsic War' was the greatest of all. One may well wonder whether this passage should also be attributed, on this basis, to Diodorus' intrusive hands, or whether Posidonius himself had indeed expressed a similar opinion of the Italians in this and other parts of the narrative. In fact, in an attested fragment (F267 EK; cf. also FF 265-266, and my discussion above) Posidonius does, it seems, parallel the early virtues of the Romans with those of the present-day Italians, who, according to him, remained frugal 'even up to our own time (καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι).'<sup>103</sup> Or was it, after all, precisely this Posidonian assessment of the nature of the war that in turn gave Diodorus the whole idea of composing that proem to Bk. 37? An interesting question, but we do not know the answer.

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<sup>103</sup> The passage in question shows a clumsy anachronism characteristic of Athenaeus (πρότερον δὲ οὕτως ὀλιγοδεεῖς ἦσαν...ὥστε καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι, φησὶν ὁ Ποσειδώνιος κτλ.), but καθ' ἡμᾶς clearly refers to Posidonius' own time; see Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.916; Harmatta (1971), p. 24.

## CHAPTER V

# Sicily

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The Diodoran accounts of the Sicilian Slave Wars which took place in the last decades of the first century BC and their aftermaths have been a source of much debate and, inevitably, of controversies, with the focus ranging from the historical to the purely philological. This is not solely owing to the important place these events occupy in the study of the socio-economic history in the late Republican period, which saw a radical change in the economic structure of the Empire and an increasing concentration of the ownership of large estates in the provinces that later came to be known as *latifundia* (Plin. *NH* 18.35), or in the study of the ancient slavery in general and of class struggles.<sup>1</sup> It is also because, as in the case of the Social War, Diodorus' account is the only extensive source for modern research into the two slave wars, which were largely overlooked by other authors in the shadow of the Gracchan crisis on the one hand and the Cimbric War on the other. Yet this important source, as it appears, presents many problems: supposed contradictions and distortions within the narrative, anachronisms and various ambiguities that arise not least from the highly fragmentary nature of the surviving text. For these reasons historiographical analysis of the material is indispensable. The analyses so far attempted have, as indeed have many studies concerning the *Bibliothèque*, largely revolved around the question of what source - or sources - our historian used. The protagonist in this domain of *Quellenforschung*, and the likeliest candidate for Diodorus' source is, as always, Posidonius, whose presence in the narrative has

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<sup>1</sup> On the other hand, the archaeological evidence tends to suggest that, while ownership of large territories was becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few owners from the early 2nd century BC onwards, the actual work units on the farmland appear to have remained much the same - comparatively small - as in the previous centuries. It may be thus misleading to apply the term 'plantation economy' to the labour practice of this period, as some scholars have done, in view of its particular association with the history of African slave labour in the southern states of the United States and in Latin America; see Frederiksen (1970-71), *passim* (esp. pp. 340-357). Verbrugghe (1972), pp. 545-549, furthermore, maintains that the cultivation of a large part of the agricultural lands in Sicily remained in the hands of small, independent Sicilian farmers down to the time of Verres.



hardly, if at all, been disputed.<sup>2</sup> This unanimity is perfectly understandable in view of other supporting documentation, along with the extraordinary acuteness in handling the social, moral and literary spheres of the subject, still discernible in the now-fragmented narrative (see below). Such a sensitivity would, it is believed, be expected rather from Posidonius than from Diodorus. Hence many of the features in the account, together with, as it were, historiographical peculiarities, have been attributed to Posidonius' philosophical and political *Tendenz*. It will be opportune, therefore, to begin our discussion from some preliminary examination of the question of sources with respect to the two Sicilian Slave Wars.

### 1. THE EVIDENCE

It is an indication of the meagre state of the evidence for Posidonian studies in general that the only secure link connecting the philosopher to the Diodoran account of the Slave Wars is a single fragment preserved by Athenaeus, which, according to him, was taken from Bk. 8 of the *Histories* (12.542 B = F59 EK). It runs as follows:

[Δαμόφιλος] τρυφῆς οὖν δοῦλος ἦν καὶ κακουργίας, διὰ μὲν τῆς χώρας τετρακύκλους ἀπήνας περιηγόμενος καὶ ἵππους καὶ θεράποντας ὥραίους καὶ παραδρομὴν ἀνάγωγον κολάκων τε καὶ παίδων στρατιωτικῶν. ὕστερον δὲ πανοικία ἐφυβρίστως κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκετῶν περιυβρισθεὶς.

On the other hand, a parallel Diodoran fragment preserved in the *De virt.*, states that Damophilus, a native Sicilian landowner, 'emulated not only the luxury among the Italians in Sicily, but also the number of their slaves and their inhumanity and harshness towards them.' This remark is followed by a passage which vividly depicts this slave owner's tendency to excess (34/5.2.34):

<sup>2</sup> Those who perceive in the *Bibliothèque* a more or less pure reproduction of the lost Posidonian account of the Slave Wars: Busolt (1890), pp. 333f.; Strasburger (1965), pp. 43 and 48; Harmatta (1971), pp. 23-25 (for the Second Slave War); Desideri (1972), pp. 484f.; Verbrugghe (1974), pp. 48 and 59; *id.* (1975), pp. 189ff.; Malitz (1983), pp. 134ff.; Bringmann (1986), pp. 32f., who bases his entire judgement solely on the correspondence between Athen. 12.542 B and Diod. 34/5.2.34; Hahm (1989), p. 1347 n. 38; *FGH* prints Diod. 34/5.2 and 8-11 as F108 *Anhang* (cf. also Jac. *Komm.*, pp. 206f.); yet Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.294f., remains cautious.

ἐπὶ μὲν γὰρ τῆς χώρας ἵππους τε πολυτελεῖς καὶ τετρακύκλους ἀπήνας μετ' οἰκετῶν στρατιωτικῶν περιήγετο· πρὸς δὲ τούτοις εὐπρεπῶν παίδων πλῆθος, ἔτι δὲ κολάκων ἀνάγωγον παραδρομὴν ἔχειν ἐφιλοτιμεῖτο.

This passage comes from the aetiology of the First Sicilian Slave War. The strong linguistic affinity between those two quotations from Athenaeus and Diodorus respectively can hardly be coincidental, despite the slight difference of the grammatical structure and of a few words. From this parallelism, therefore, it has been assumed, probably rightly, that Diodorus found this description in his source, Posidonius' *Histories*, and simply transplanted it into his narrative. If this is the case, the minor alteration can be due either to Diodorus, to the Constantinian excerptor who has preserved the passage, or to Athenaeus. As judged from the excerptors' general adherence to what they used as text (see Chap. 1) and from the detailed description of Damophilus' further excesses that follow the above quotation, it will in all probability be either Diodorus or Athenaeus who inaccurately quoted, or rather paraphrased, the supposed Posidonian original, as both of them often did so elsewhere (see Chap. 2).

The likely Posidonian origin of the account of the First Slave War, or even a part of it, may also be underpinned with reference to Rutilius Rufus' semi-autobiographical work, whose Greek version known to Athenaeus as a *History of Rome* (4.168E) was certainly a direct source for Posidonius. For a passage in Athenaeus, which almost certainly derives from Posidonius (6.274 D), attests that Rutilius, adhering to the démodée *Lex Fannia*, paid his slaves for the fish he bought from them.<sup>3</sup> This episode seems to suggest that Rutilius' Stoic principles extended even to the treatment of slaves, though this very picture may have been embroidered by Posidonius himself. Besides, in one of his dialogues Cicero recounts a murder case in the forests of Sila in 138, in which household slaves had been under accusation and with which Rutilius in his twenties got involved, together with his patron C. Laelius, in defence of the accused (*Brut.* 85-89). Cicero claims to have obtained this piece of information from a personal conversation with Rutilius himself, who was then in exile

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. 4, pp. 106ff. or a discussion on the source question of this passage. On Rutilius as an ultimate informant on the slave wars for Posidonius, see Strasburger (1965), p. 49; Malitz (1983), pp. 137 and 143.



at Smyrna; but this is perhaps a literary fiction, this anecdote being most likely to have been taken from Rutilius' memoirs.<sup>4</sup> It seems very probable, therefore, that the first slave uprising in Sicily, which took place only a couple of years after the murders in Sila (or had it something to do with the war itself?; cf. Obseq. 27; 27b), had then caught the attention of the Roman Stoic and later prompted him to include its record in his autobiography. If he had indeed written an account of the war, that would have been one of the best sources of information for Posidonius.<sup>5</sup> Admittedly, among the miserably scanty remnants of the *De vita sua*, either in the Latin or in the Greek tradition, there is absolutely no direct evidence that points to Rutilius' inclusion of an account of either of the two slave wars, nor are there any traces of the language, historical insight and art of presentation that are present in Diodorus' account of them; these Rutilian fragments are indeed so dispersed that they resist any attempt to guess what his 'style' was like.<sup>6</sup> Nevertheless, what strikes us in the few remains of Rutilius' work is his typically polemic and partisan tone against the immorality of some Roman personages (e.g. FF4; 5; 7 Peter) and against luxury (FF6; 13 Peter).<sup>7</sup> As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, many of the views expressed by Rutilius will also have been reflected in Posidonius' *Histories*, and similar sentiments on contemporary morals do emerge from the lines of the Diodoran narrative of the slave wars too (see below).

At any rate, the close verbal correspondence between Diodorus and the Posidonian fragment on Damophilus leaves little doubt that he did at least use Posidonius for his account of the First Slave War. What it does not explain, however,

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. Lewis (R), pp. 77-78.

<sup>5</sup> Needless to say, Diodorus himself, at least theoretically, could have had direct access to the Greek version of Rutilius' autobiography, and on that basis one could also speculate that his memoirs were a common single intermediary for both Posidonius and Diodorus: that is, they could have consulted the work quite independently from each other; or Diodorus could indeed have used both Rutilius and Posidonius. In fact, Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 147, suggest, at least as a possibility, Diodorus' direct access to Rutilius' work in regard to the Gracchan episode (see Chap. 3, pp. 79f.). Yet the link - both personal and literary - between Rutilius and Posidonius is attested, whereas that between Rutilius and Diodorus is not. Thus in the latter case, the direct transmission of material is only a matter for speculation.

<sup>6</sup> In the same work, however, Cicero also remarks that Rutilius' style of speech was 'harsh and severe' (*tristi et severo genere dicendi versatus est*) and that his orations were 'dry' (*sunt eius orationes jejunae*) (*Brut.* 113-114). According to Cicero, Rutilius was certainly not a gifted speaker, although his judgement is confined to Rutilius' forensic speeches.

<sup>7</sup> For the last fragment F13 compare a parallel in App. *Iber.* 88; Lewis (R), p. 78 and n. 38.



is the extent to which he used the *Histories*, and whether he used them *alone* for the rest of the account. Nor does it prove that Posidonius' work also lies behind the account of the Second War in Bk. 36. Some scholars, in fact, have added more than the one name, Posidonius, to the list of possible sources, on finding some statements among the same Diodoran fragments that are seemingly contradictory or irrelevant to the general development of events, particularly during the course of the First Slave War. Why are Damophilus and other slave owners held solely responsible for triggering the war, after the widespread lawlessness of pastoral slaves has so much been emphasised? Why, after the unendurable suffering of slaves in the farmland has been articulated, should a revolt have broken out among urban slaves? Why are those landowners involved in the outbreak of the war all Sicilian Greeks, despite the pointed criticisms of Roman and Italian counterparts? What explanation is possible, after all, for the obvious anachronism of such a large presence of Romans and Italians on Sicilian estates at this stage, as well as that of the equestrian jury at the *repetundae* court? - all these are questions which will respectively be discussed later. In order to give reasoned answers to these apparent inconsistencies, the scholars referred to have suggested Diodorus' conflation of multiple sources, including, among others, the rhetorician Caecilius of Cale Acte, who wrote a treatise on the Sicilian Slave Wars, 'σύγγραμμα....περὶ τῶν δουλικῶν πολέμων' (Athen. 6.272F = F1 FGH 2B.183), roughly half a century or so after Posidonius.<sup>8</sup> Caecilius was a contemporary of Timagenes and Dionysius (Dion. Hal. *Pomp.* 3.20 = T3 FGH 2B.183; TT1-2; cf. Quintil. *Inst.* 3.1.16; 9.1.12; 9.3.89); thus his lifetime certainly overlaps with that of Diodorus, although our historian must have been more advanced in age. Yet the existence of Caecilius' historical work is attested only through the single *testimonium* in Athenaeus, and neither its content nor publication date is known to us. Thus to count him as a source for the Diodoran account would entail rather bold assumptions.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> The proponents of the Caecilian theory include Rizzo (1976), who directs all his arguments to this end; Càssola (1982), pp. 768-769, also assumes, in addition to Posidonius, at least one more source for Diodorus account of the First Slave War.

<sup>9</sup> See Verbrugghe (1975), p. 190 n. 7.



For the most part, on the other hand, little attention has been paid to Diodorus himself, the actual author of the existing account of the wars. Well in line with the tradition of *Quellenkritik*, the majority of scholars seem to have agreed that Diodorus did consult - to say the least - Posidonius' *Histories* for his account of the First Slave War and, more likely, entirely followed the latter's narrative. Even those few others who do recognise traces of non-Posidonian material in the narrative seek its explanation in Diodorus' using other secondary source(s). On the other hand, a number of studies in recent decades have discovered Diodorus' intellectual self-sufficiency, however extensive or limited it may have been, in other parts of the *Bibliothèque* (see Introduction). Thus it seems plainly injudicious to take the whole narrative of the First Slave War as a pure reproduction of his source or sources, let alone to attempt to apply the same measure to that of the Second Slave War - for the latter episode there is not even one testimony that directly attests its inclusion in Posidonius' *Histories*.<sup>10</sup> Reflecting this scholarly tendency, there has also been an attempt to show possible rephrasing or even distortions of the material by Diodorus himself - again chiefly to explain the same difficulties in the narrative - although the results are no more conclusive than those produced by previous *Quellenforschungen*.<sup>11</sup> Yet after all, Diodorus was a native Sicilian, who was born and raised on the island less than half a century or so after the Second Slave War; and therefore it is easy to imagine that he would have had a plentiful stock of local knowledge of the wars to resort to, and that he could have made his own contributions to the narrative not only stylistically but also factually - if he chose to do so.

On these premises, the following sections will examine those historical as well as historiographical problems in the narrative of the two slave wars, and will attempt to offer possible - if not decisive - answers. In order to illuminate some of the questions more clearly, I shall begin with outlining the structural features of the Diodoran narrative of the wars.

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<sup>10</sup> As we shall see below, Athen. 6.272 E-F (F262 EK) can by no means be regarded as direct evidence of a Posidonian account of the Second Slave War.

<sup>11</sup> The discussion in Sacks (1990), pp. 142-154, is the only comprehensive study I have come across to take this approach for the Diodoran account of the Slave Wars.

## 2. THE PROBLEMS OF THE NARRATIVE STRUCTURE

The account of the First Slave War can be divided into three parts, according to the character of each, which seem at the same time to represent slightly different traditions of ancient historiography. The first one is an introduction to the background of the war in terms of the general social conditions which were believed by the author to have functioned as the *causa antecedens* of the revolt (34/5.2.1-3; 2.25-32); this is followed by a more closely focused description of the direct cause of the outbreak (34/5.2.10-14; 2.34-40). These first two sections clearly belong to the historiographical tradition deeply influenced by Greek philosophical thought: questions are posed as to why such a large-scale uprising took place. In the Latin tradition, on the other hand, this sort of 'sociological' explanation of a historical turmoil can be found, among works contemporary with Diodorus that have survived in substantial quantities, probably only in Sallust. The last section is the actual narrative which traces the development of the war (34/5.2.15-24; 2.41-48; 8-10); this section is well in line with Latin accounts largely deriving from the official Roman tradition of the war (cf. Liv. *Per.* 56; 58-59; Flor. 2.7.1-8; Oros. 5.9.4-8). Within this framework there is another, rather curious element, observable in the account of the first war but not of the second: folkloric and anecdotal stories, which would not have belonged to the official tradition of the war: the story of Damophilus' daughter, from which a moral is derived (34/5.2.14; 2.39-40) and that of Gorgus of Morgantina and his father (34/5.11).

On the other hand, these distinctions in the character of the components of the narrative are less evident in the account of the Second Slave War, which noticeably lacks such philosophical and paedagogic elements as found in that of the first war. The plain description of the course of events, rather reminiscent of Latin *annales*, is somewhat bland, which may well be one of the chief reasons why it has attracted less scholarly interest than that of the first war. Yet such an impression may be misleading: as will be seen later in the chapter, the apparent character of the account of the Second Slave War is largely dictated by chance survival of the material, that is, the



fact that it derives almost exclusively from Photius' summary and little from the Constantinian *Excerpts*.

Further comparisons between the accounts of the two slave wars make another seemingly peculiar element emerge: what many scholars have perceived, with justification, as a structural 'parallelism' between them. In Diodorus' narrative the two chronologically separated conflicts certainly follow a similar course of development, and there also surface, coincidentally or not, several analogous episodes between the two wars: smaller uprisings elsewhere preceding and coinciding with those on the island (cp. 34/5.2.19; 2.26 and 36.2-2a); the involvement of Roman knights in aggravating the social deterioration, and the helplessness of the Roman praetors who were incompetent to deal with the problems rife in the province (cp. 34/5.2.3; 2.31 and 36.3.2f.; 11.2); a charlatan skilled in sooth-saying is elected king of the rebellious slaves (cp. 34/5.2.5-2.9; 2.14 and 36.4.4; 5), and assumes a Syrian royal name (cp. 34/5.2.24 and 36.7.1); the initial inertia of the Roman army which encouraged further revolts (cp. 34/5.2.10; 2.18 and 36.4; 8-9); vandalism by impoverished freemen, full of *Schadenfreude* at the plight of the imperilled rich (cp. 34/5.2.48 and 36.11); expectations, false in the event, of a power struggle among different groups of the rebellious slaves (cp. 34/5.2.17 and 36.7.2). To facilitate comparison, I have drawn a table (below) of parallels between the accounts of events during the two slave wars as given by Diodorus:<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> In this table I have partly reorganised the arrangement of the Photian and Constantinian fragments in the *Loeb* edition, in order to reproduce the chronological order of events as it appeared in the original; the dates are based on Broughton, *MRR*.

TABLE 3: THE NARRATIVE OF THE TWO SLAVE WARS

Bk. 34/5.2	First Slave War	Bk. 36	Second Slave War
1-2 (Phot.); 25-27 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Sicilians plunge into luxury and acquire a great number of slaves	2 (Phot.); 2a ( <i>insid.</i> )	Preceding minor revolts in Italy: 1st at Nuceria; 2nd at Capua; 3rd near Capua, led by Roman knight Titus Vettius, suppressed by L. Lucullus
26 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Reference to Aristonicus' revolt in Asia (133)		
27-31 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Italians make brigandage by pastoral slaves prevail in Sicily	1; 3.1-3.3 (Phot.)	Praetor Licinius Nerva fails to set free slaves from allied states under the pressure from the 'notables' (104)
3 (Phot.); 31-32 ( <i>vir.</i> )	The praetors fail to suppress the brigands for fear of the <i>equites</i> in the court		
4-9 (Phot.)	Advent of revolt; portrait of Eunus	3.3-3.6 (Phot.)	Slaves of Syracuse stir up revolt at Palici
10 (Phot.); 34-38 ( <i>vir.</i> & <i>sent.</i> )	Portrait of Damophilus' luxury; his cruelty exasperates slaves		First uprising at Halicyae led by Varius; Nerva suppresses it by betrayal
11-14 (Phot.); 24b; 39-40 ( <i>Const.</i> )	Eunus stirs up slave uprising; outbreak of the war at Enna (139?/135?); Damophilus and Megallis slain; their daughter spared	4.1-4.2 (Phot.)	Another group of slaves revolts and murders Roman knight P. Clonius
14-16; 24 (Phot.); 41- 42 ( <i>vir.</i> & <i>sent.</i> )	Eunus proclaimed king Antiochus; he establishes monarchic institutions; defeats Romans	4.3 (Phot.)	Nerva sends M. Titinius from Heracleia; the rebels rout Titinius
17 (Phot.); 43 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Cleon revolts and attacks Acragas; submits himself to Eunus (c. 30 days after the outbreak)	4.4-4.8 (Phot.)	Salvius chosen king; he organises the rebels; defeats Nerva's army yet fails to capture Morgantina
<i>(The order of the fragments uncertain)</i>		5 (Phot.)	Athenion revolts and is chosen king (at Segesta and Lilybaeum); assembles over 10 thousand rebels; fails to capture Lilybaeum
18-20 (Phot.)	The rebels defeat praetor L. Hypsaeus (139?); they number 200 thousand; overwhelm Romans in battles and capture cities (138?-136?)	6 (Phot.); 11 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Poor free-born run riot; confusion prevails in Sicily
45-46 ( <i>sent.</i> )	The rebels attack cities and fight with Romans	7 (Phot.)	Salvius advances as far as Leontini; proclaimed king Tryphon; assembles 30 thousand rebels; subjects Athenion to his command; establishes monarchic institutions at Triocala
48 ( <i>sent.</i> )	Poor free-born ravage lands		
19 (Phot.)	Smaller revolts in Rome, Attica, Delos and other places	8 (Phot.)	L. Lucullus routs the rebels' army near Scirthaea (103); besieges Triocala yet retreats; later accused at Rome
20-23 (Phot.)	P. Rupilius besieges and captures Tauromenium and Enna by betrayal (132); Eunus captured and dies at Morgantina	9.1 (Phot.)	C. Servilius remains inert (102); Athenion, succeeding Salvius, predominates in Sicily
Chap. 8 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Runaway slaves mutilate captives	9.2 ( <i>sent.</i> )	Lucullus frustrates his successor Servilius
Chap. 9 ( <i>sent.</i> )	(The fugitives) eat sacred fish	10 (Phot.)	Consul M'. Aquillius kills Athenion in battle; Satyrus and the remaining rebels surrender; kill themselves at Rome (100-101)
Chap. 10 ( <i>vir.</i> )	The Senate sends sacerdotal mission to Sicily		
Chap. 11 ( <i>vir.</i> )	Gorgus of Morgantina captured by fugitives		



While 'reduplication' may be too strong a word to be used, the structural and thematic parallelism between the two accounts is too obvious to be merely coincidental and thus demands some explanations. A suggestion has been made that the ultimate informants of the events were no longer able to distinguish clearly between the two wars, yet this argument is not very convincing. As will be seen below, the areas and the cities involved in the two wars were hardly identical, and hence the geographical range of the informants, either eyewitnesses or their descendants, of the respective wars will not have much overlapped with each other.<sup>13</sup> It is far likelier that similar historical factors contributed to the outbreak and development of the two slave wars, and under these circumstances many analogous incidents were indeed repeated as a historical coincidence. In this respect, it is interesting to observe that Diodorus, or rather his source, saw slave unrest in Southern Italy as portending the outbreak of the Second Slave War in Sicily, and recognised a causal link between the two (36.2-2a; see below). Livy independently reported a similar *coniuratio servorum* having taken place in Italy, yet that was not before the second war but before the first (Obseq. 27; 27b).

However, there seem to be not only factual but also literary considerations at work in the parallelism: that is, the author of the narrative deliberately remoulded similar yet coincidental factors into more homogeneous forms, in order to enhance the analogy in causation and development between the two wars. For much of such literary embellishment, Diodorus' source, Posidonius, must have been responsible. I shall not, as some scholars have done, attempt to formulate a strictly defined 'narrative pattern' in Posidonian historiography, since so little can be said on this question with any certainty on the basis of the attested material.<sup>14</sup> Yet the

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<sup>13</sup> Despite Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 193-195 and Malitz (1983), pp. 158f.

<sup>14</sup> The hypothetical Posidonian 'narrative pattern' has been most famously advocated by Strasburger (1965), pp. 42f., and further advanced by Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 200ff. According to this view, one can observe several structural similarities between the Diodoran account of the First Slave War on the one hand and, on the other, ancient traditions on Cilician piracy (notably in Strabo, Plutarch's *Pompey* and Appian's *Mithridatika*) and even on the Spartacus War - especially in the social, economic and psychological considerations taken into account and the patterns of development emerging; and therefore, the theory goes, they should all derive from Posidonius. Yet this thesis comes up against several obstacles, among others not least the question of the terminal date of Posidonius' *Histories*; see Chap. 6 for further analysis.



synchronisation of the First Slave War and the 'slave' revolt under Aristonicus in Asia Minor, which is anachronistic in strictly chronological terms (34/5.2.26: τὸ παραπλήσιον δὲ γέγονε καὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν κατὰ τοὺς αὐτοὺς καιροὺς), and the interpretation of the two incidents as originating from the same socio-historical cause, clearly indicate that he was operating on some kind of 'höhere Chronologie'.<sup>15</sup> As has been pointed out in earlier chapters, both the historical and the philosophical fragments of Posidonius show that he often constructed his historical analyses upon purely philosophical (and at times ahistorical) theories. Behind the parallelism between the two wars, there seems to lie a Posidonian conviction - with which Thucydides might well have agreed - that the universal nature of humanity, given similar circumstances, will replay the same course of events beyond the limit of time.<sup>16</sup>

Yet at the same time, the Sicilian Slave Wars and all the phenomena associated with them no doubt represented for Posidonius various symptoms of the social malady endemic in a contemporary world dominated by Rome after the destruction of Carthage. Thus a flip in one place brings a domino effect in others, or even in the other strata of society: the Diodoran narrative relates other simultaneous slave uprisings in Rome, Attica, Delos and other places prompted by the First Slave War (34/5.2.19: also attested by Livian tradition in Oros. 5.9.4-5); parallel to this, Posidonius reports, in an attested fragment, a slave revolt in Attica at the time of the Second Slave War (F262 EK; see below); during both wars the free-born poor seize the opportunity and run riot (34/5.2.48; 36.11). Among Diodoran passages there are also signs of awareness that social and military unrest in South Italy often interacted with situation in Sicily, as is shown by the implied 'chain-reaction' effect between the Second Slave War and other slave revolts in Italy (36.2-2a) and by the Italian attempt, during the closing days of the Social War, to capture Rhegium and to win control of

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<sup>15</sup> The idea of 'higher chronology' probably originates from Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 207f.; strongly echoed by Harmatta (1971), pp. 23-25; Desideri (1972), pp. 484ff., who however concentrates his analysis only on Posidonius' (supposed) preoccupation with Roman imperialism; most radically advanced by Rizzo (1976), pp. 285-293; accepted, somewhat cautiously, by Malitz (1983), p. 145. On the question of the structure of the Diodoran narrative of the First Slave War - whether it was continuous or was interrupted by other events in properly chronological order -, see Chap. 1, pp. 31f. and note 36; Chap. 4, pp. 98f.

<sup>16</sup> The actual influence of Posidonian philosophy on the narrative of the Slave Wars will be discussed in the subsequent sections.



resources in Sicily (37.2.13-14). The fact that the Spartacus War in Posidonius' own time took a course of events similar to that of the Sicilian Slave Wars must also have reinforced his belief in the universal nature of the problem. And it is indeed possible that the actual course of the Spartacus War influenced his description of the earlier slave wars in Sicily.<sup>17</sup>

Yet apart from these parallelisms, there are also several, quite considerable, differences between the two Diodoran accounts - differences which may well reflect real differences in character between the two slave wars. I list these below:-

1) Whereas the first war was a simultaneous uprising of slaves, the second consisted of a series of separate revolts. In number of slaves involved in rebellion, the first war surpassed the second: the total number of the rebels in the first war, according to Diodorus, reached two hundred thousand (34/5.2.18); on the other hand, even when the number of rebels under Salvius (36.7.1) and that of Athenion's followers (36.5.3) are combined, the total number of slaves who took up arms in the second war does not exceed forty thousand.<sup>18</sup>

2) Geographical difference: Only three places are specifically mentioned in the account of the first war. These are Enna (34/5.2.11; 2.15; 2.21; 2.24b), Tauromenium (34/5.2.20) and Acragas (34/5.2.43). However, the distribution of these places, over an extensive area of the island, suggests that the revolt may well have involved other cities as well (cf. 34/5.2.20: *πολλεῖς*). For the second war, on the other hand, a larger number of places is mentioned: Syracuse (36.3.3), Palici (36.3.3; 7.1), Halicyae (36.3.4), Mt Caprianus (36.4.2), Morgantina (36.4.5-8; 7.1), Segesta, Lilybaeum and the neighbouring cities (36.5.1-4), Leontini (36.7.1), Triocala (36.7.2-3; 8.2; 8.4-5) and Scirthaea (36.8.2ff.). It is noticeable that none of the places said to have been involved in the earlier war is included. However, the cities that became the stages of

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<sup>17</sup> See Chap. 6, pp. 224ff. on the parallelism between Spartacus' uprising and, as recounted by Diodorus, the Sicilian Slave Wars. That is not to say, however, that the ancient traditions on the Spartacus War also go back to Posidonius' authorship; the accounts of the war in Plutarch's *Crassus* (8-11) and Appian (*BC* 1.116-120) almost certainly derive from Sallust (*Hist.* 3.90-106 M.); see Chap. 6, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Verbrugghe (1972), pp. 547f., and *id.* (1974), pp. 49f., combining the numerical figures in Livy (*Per.* 56) and in Florus (2.7.6), maintains that the total number of rebel slaves given by Diodorus for the First Slave War is authentic. Rizzo (1976), who assumes that the Second Slave War was larger than the First in scale, does not take account of these attested figures.

the second war extend over the central east, south east and extreme west of Sicily. The extensive area apparently affected by the second war contrasts strangely with the smaller number of rebels recorded as taking part.

3) The direct causes of these revolts are rather different from each other. While the *causa efficiens* of the first war is reduced to the misbehaviour of a single Greek landowner, the second is said to have been a result of the Roman governor Licinius Nerva's failure to enforce a *senatus consultum* to liberate the abducted provincials who had been sold into slavery (36.3.1-5); hence no moralising comment on master-slave relationships is involved in the causal analysis of the second war. Indeed we are told that in Morgantina the slaves actually favoured the offer of freedom by their masters, rather than by the rebels, and criticism is concentrated on the Roman governor (36.8). Yet the author's account of the origins of the war points to a far less accidental causal link.

4) Thus in the processes leading up to the outbreak of the two wars the rôle of the Roman *equites* was not the same. In the account of the first war they simply helped aggravate the general lawlessness of slave herdsmen (34/5. 2.3; 2.31), a fact which, as I shall discuss below, can at best be interpreted only as a *causa praecedens* of the revolt. In the case of the second war, the intervention of the *equites*, referred to only as 'notables' (οἱ ἐν ὀξιώμασι) in Photius' summary, to frustrate the enforcement of the senatorial decree directly triggered off the first revolt in the Second Slave War (36.3.3-4).<sup>19</sup> Also contrasting are the interests pursued by the *equites* before the two wars: in the first case they preferred to leave their own marauding slave-herdsmen free from any judicial punishment, and in the second case they sought to prevent slaves of theirs being freed.

5) The status of the rebellious slaves in the second war is clearly differentiated from that of the rebels in the first war: the former had been free citizens of Rome's allied states before they were illegally abducted by *publicani* and put into slavery, and thus had, in their own understanding at least, a natural claim to emancipation. Had Nerva dully implemented the senatorial decree, they would all have been freed by due

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<sup>19</sup> From the parallelism with the account of the first war, there is little doubt that οἱ ἐν ὀξιώμασι refers to the equestrians; see Desideri (1972), p. 489; Verbrughe (1972), p. 544.



process. It may partly explain the less derogatory treatment of the ἀποσταταί in the second war compared with those in the first (see below).

6) As far as the first war is concerned, all the victims whose names are known are Siceliot Greeks: Damophilus, Megallis, Antigenes, Pytho and Gorgus. The ringleaders of the revolt all bear Hellenistic Greek names and were probably brought from the Eastern Mediterranean: Eunos (a Syrian), Hermeias, Zeuxis, Achaeus (an Achaean), Cleon (a Cilician), Comanus (a Cilician), Sarapion (a Syrian). In the account of the second war, on the other hand, the only casualty specifically named is a Roman knight, P. Clonius. The names of the rebels involved in the second war indicate a mixed ethnicity in the composition of the rebels: the leader of the first, abortive, uprising in the second war, Varius, and the fifth columnist C. Titinius both have Latin/Italic names; Salvius is an Italic (possibly of Etruscan origin) name; Athenion, who succeeded to the leadership after Salvius, is a Cilician, and Satyrus, the last commander of the rebels, has a Greek name.<sup>20</sup>

7) The account of the second war tends on the whole to see events from a Roman point of view. Even the omnipresent criticisms of Roman commanders, such as L. Licinius Lucullus and C. Servilius, who were later prosecuted in Rome for incompetence (36.8.5-9.2), seem to reflect internal political debates or partisan polemic among Romans.

8) In spite of this, the account of the second war portrays its ringleaders in a more favourable light than Eunos, the slave king in the first war.<sup>21</sup> Their behaviour is presented as politically sensible, their objective as justifiable or even noble, their ultimate deaths as heroic. This may seem a little odd, given the fact that the narrative more strongly echoes a Roman point of view, which would hardly have included any positive sentiments towards rebellious slaves. Yet it may partly reflect some historical facts. For example, the Second Slave War was certainly broader in its geographical range, and may also have been better-organised and more successful.

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<sup>20</sup> Hoben (1978), p. 69, also suggests a possibly heterogeneous nature for the second war from an institutional point of view. In the case of Salvius, Hoben (*ibid.*) denies a western origin.

<sup>21</sup> Malitz (1983), p. 162, has recognised this contrast yet stops short of questioning why.

Posidonius famously went on a 'grand tour' to the West, probably in the 90s (T14-26 EK), and it has been convincingly suggested, despite a lack of direct *testimonia*, that an investigative sojourn in Sicily formed part of his travels (cf. FF249-250 EK).<sup>22</sup> Diodorus, for his part, was a native Sicilian. Thus both these authors may well have been able to draw on local Sicilians for first-hand information about the two wars. The different aspects of the two wars as analysed above indicate the existence of fairly accurate knowledge about each war, and for this reason it is highly unlikely that the author, simply for want of information, had to 'make up' part of the account of the one war on the analogy of the other. So far I have offered a general picture of the structure and character of the Diodoran accounts of the two slave wars. I now turn to a more detailed examination of the issues raised above in their own right. The starting point of my discussion is one of the central themes in the causal analysis of the two revolts, namely, treatment of slaves.

### 3. SLAVES

Photius' synopsis of the Diodoran account of the First Slave War shows that the passage quoted earlier, portraying the excesses of Damophilus, originally formed part of the causal explanation of the war (34/5.2.10ff). To judge from Photius and the Constantinian *Excerpts*, this section was immediately preceded by introductory passages depicting the general deterioration of social and economic life in Sicily: moral decline of the Sicilians into the luxury and arrogance brought by the peace and prosperity following the Second Punic War; the acquisition of a vast number of slaves and harsh treatment of them; atrocious conditions in what is characterised by some as the 'plantation economy'; and the psychological effects of those conditions on the slaves (34/5.2.1-4; 2.10; 2.25-37). From these passages there emerges some sort of willingness to look at events from the point of view of the slaves, and indeed the narrative also blames slave owners as being responsible for the outbreak of the revolt and thus shows a certain degree of sympathy towards the slaves who revolted. At one

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<sup>22</sup> For the likely date of Posidonius' Grand Tour, see Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.16; Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 6; Malitz (1983), p. 13. His visit to Sicily during the trip: Strasburger (1965), p. 40; Verbrugghe (1975), p. 193; Malitz (1983), pp. 79 and 136; cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.16-21, for the places which Posidonius is attested to have visited.



point in the account of the war itself, the rebellious slaves appear far more wise or even sane than the free men in the social underclasses, who seize the opportunity merely to run amok and indulge in blind vandalism (34/5.2.48): this striking picture is clearly intended to illustrate how the free populace behaves no better than the slaves under certain circumstances, thus demonstrating the ‘uniformity’ of human nature among the rich, the poor and slaves alike, which can manifest itself in either exemplary or reprehensible conduct according to different mental conditions.<sup>23</sup>

The author’s didactic intention, clearly reflecting Stoic teachings, becomes particularly apparent when, equating the relationship between ruler and ruled in the state and the private household, he declares:

‘Not only in political power should men of prominence behave moderately (ἐπιεικῶς) towards those of lower estate, but also in private life should they treat their slaves gently ... for heavy arrogance in the states brings about civil wars among the citizens, and in private households it paves the way in turn for slaves’ plots against their masters and for terrible uprisings jointly against the state (34/5.2.33).’<sup>24</sup>

Posidonius’ concern for slaves is to some extent detectable among the few fragments attested by name: the word δοῦλος is mentioned in three fragments (FF 51; 53; 262 EK; cf. 266 EK), and metaphorically in another (F59 EK), and οἰκέτης appears in three fragments (FF59; 262; 265 EK). Admittedly many of these Posidonian passages merely contain passing remarks on slaves that are rather incidental to their context, and thus provide no systematic insight into his attitude towards slavery as an established institution: one fragment is more concerned with the frugality of Scipio Aemilianus than with slaves (F265 EK). Another passage, attributed by Athenaeus to both Posidonius and Nicolaus, indeed denounces the Chians for having started the

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<sup>23</sup> See Bringmann (1986), pp. 42-43. Yet this sympathy towards slaves is not without reservations and in any case limited; Malitz (1983), p. 140, rightly points out that ‘fast jeder Aufstand, und bestimmt jeder Sklavenaufstand, muß für Poseidonios ein Zeichen ... des Unverstandes oder geistiger “Erkrankung” gewesen sein’; cf. Diod. 34/5.2.19; 2.30; 2.43; 9.1; 36.11.3. However, one may also ask whether such antipathy in the narrative towards the rebels all derives from the philosopher himself, or partly from the Roman source(s) he used; see below on the question of Posidonius’ sources.

<sup>24</sup> The appearance of ἐπιείκεια, however, also suggests that the passage is a Diodoran paraphrase rather than a verbatim reproduction of what Posidonius himself wrote; see Chap. 4, pp. 127-129.

practice of buying slaves (F51 EK), but it is rather doubtful whether this particular criticism, which comes at the end of the extract, is also from Posidonius; and, judging from the surrounding context, I find more convincing the view that Athenaeus himself was responsible for inserting the additional criticism into the historical context of the year 86, the enslavement of the Chians by Mithridates, as recounted by Posidonius and Nicolaus.<sup>25</sup> Thus this fragment itself does not seem to be of much relevance to the extensive condemnation of the Sicilian *latifundia*, where, according to the Diodoran narrative, this form of slavery - the acquisition of slaves through purchase - was exercised to an enormous extent. One Posidonian fragment, however, mentions a revolt of the mining slaves in Attica (F262 EK), and there is also another on the voluntary submission of the Mariandynians to the Heracleots (F60 EK), an episode already known to Plato (*Leg.* 6.776D), a rather different version of which appears in Strabo (12.3.4). Because this particular form of subjection is comparable with serfdom, like the Helots in Sparta, and is not slavery proper, Posidonius does not use the word δοῦλος in this passage. The passage does, however, reveal that he took a rather Platonic view of the natural right of the strong to rule over the weak, provided that the subordination is accepted and the rule is benevolent (cf. also F284 EK).

However, awareness of slavery, to the extent that it can be observed in these attested fragments, would hardly make Posidonius unique among ancient authors. Soon after his own lifetime we know of at least one treatise on the Sicilian Slave Wars, by the rhetorician Caecilius.<sup>26</sup> In fact, interest in the master-slave relationship in literature probably goes back as far as Euripides, and Aristotle already used an analogy of the relationship between master and subjects in the state and the private household (*Nicom. Eth.* 8.10.4ff.). In the Stoic tradition itself, too, slavery was treated before and after Posidonius, from Chrysippus (*Sen. Benef.* 3.22.1) to Seneca, although we may not gain much insight into what Panaetius, Posidonius' teacher, had to say on the question from Cicero's free adaptation (cf. *Cic. Off.* 1.41). And what about Diodorus himself? Was he not interested, if not in the fundamental question of

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<sup>25</sup> So Hahm (1989), p. 1358 n. 52; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.277. Hence Malitz (1983), pp. 139 and 142-143, who takes this as evidence of Posidonius' sharp criticism of commercial slavery is not firmly based.

<sup>26</sup> See Above on Caecilius. According to Malitz (1983), p. 138, however, this man's motivation was more of a rhetorical and literary kind than philosophical.



slavery, then at least in the right way of dealing with slaves, a theme that constantly recurs in his account of the Slave Wars? He too was living in a world in which slavery was a feature of everyday life and in which there was always the danger of a revolt if things went wrong. It is surely risky to assume that every sentiment expressed on slaves in Diodorus' narrative faithfully reflects Posidonius' own views. A good example is the metaphorical use of the word 'slave (δοῦλος)', which Posidonius used, in a sarcastic manner, to describe Damophilus as 'a slave to luxury (τρυφῆς οὖν δοῦλος)' (F59 EK). On the basis of this single passage it has often been thought that this use of the word is a characteristic of Posidonian rhetoric or comes from his Stoic background, and that all the comparable applications of the word in the last books of the *Bibliothēke*, such as 'slave neither to favour nor to fear' (= Ti. Gracchus) (34/5.6.1) and 'being a slave to love (τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι δουλεύων)' (36.2a.1), also go back to the philosopher.<sup>27</sup> Yet this kind of topos with its moral connotations was, not surprisingly, a commonplace in Greek literature<sup>28</sup> and can, in any case, be found in non-Posidonian passages of the *Bibliothēke*, too: Onnes, the first husband of Semiramis, later queen of Assyria, was 'completely enslaved' by his wife (τελέως ὑπ' αὐτῆς δεδουλώσθαι) (2.5.2); 'The Sybarites are slaves to their belly (γαστρίδουλοι) and lovers of luxury' (8.18.1).

To attempt to identify Posidonian influences, both philosophical and stylistic, in the *Bibliothēke* by deduction always risks circularity, since the so-called 'Posidonian characteristics' themselves are all too often drawn from the same Diodoran work. A more practical approach would be to rely on 'internal evidence' within the *Bibliothēke*, that is, to observe whether Diodorus shows the same degree of interest in slaves in books that are not based on Posidonius as in the narrative of the Slave Wars. On the one hand, references to and considerations of the 'metaphorical' slavery are legion throughout the entire *Bibliothēke*; and, of course, this use of δουλεία or δουλοσύνη was a long-established cliché in Greek historiography, not to mention Herodotus at the earliest (e.g., Hdt. 1.95; 169; 170; 3.19, 88; 4.118; 5.49; 6.12; 106; 7.102; 8.142; 9.90). On the other hand, however, it is noticeable that

<sup>27</sup> See Busolt (1890), p. 330; Malitz (1983), p. 140 and n. 40; Bringmann (1986), pp. 38f.

<sup>28</sup> See Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), pp. 140 and 152 n. 24-25.



Diodorus' concern with the 'literal' or 'real' slavery is markedly concentrated in the accounts of the slave wars in Bks 34/5 and 36. A lexical survey, for example, of the frequency of occurrence of words concerning 'slaves' in the *Bibliothēke* shows that, while the words δοῦλος and δούλη are used ninety-two times in his whole work, they occur thirty-four times within the narrative of the two slaves wars; of only seventy-four references to the words οἰκέτης and οἰκετικός in the entire *Bibliothēke*, more than half - thirty-nine - are found in the same accounts (TLG).<sup>29</sup>

More revealing in this regard is the frequent appearance of φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια in the account of the First Slave War, as two keywords for the proper treatment of slaves (34/5.2.13; 2.33; 2.39; 2.41). We have observed that these two words, reflecting Diodorus' own utilitarian view of history writing, represent a universal theme throughout the *Bibliothēke* that recurs in various historical contexts and describes various forms of enlightened master-subject relationship, such as an ideal Hellenistic monarchy or benevolent empire-management.<sup>30</sup> However, it is interesting to observe that, although instances of the occurrence of these words are numerous in Diodorus' entire work, the actual application of them is by and large restricted to higher strata of society, individual or collective, rather than to slaves, outside the accounts of the Sicilian Slave Wars.<sup>31</sup> Whereas his use of these words are

<sup>29</sup> Incidentally, outside these 'Posidonian books' dealing with the slave wars, Diodorus does not appear to be very careful about the distinction between these two categories of nomenclature: δοῦλος (slave) originally refers to legal status, as opposed to ἐλεύθερος, while οἰκέτης (household slave, servant) refers to function. Except for a single case (4.24.6) in which δοῦλος, as opposed to ἐλεύθερος, is clearly distinguished from οἰκέτης (servants), these words generally refer to the same group of people, and are often used as interchangeable synonyms (e.g., 10.26; 11.89.6-8). Other words denoting 'a slave', such as ἀνδράποδον (18 times, including ἀνδραποδίζω and ἀνδραποδισμός) and δμῶς (zero), are far less frequent in Diodorus, and are never used in the accounts of the slave wars.

<sup>30</sup> See Chap. 2, p. 56ff.; Chap. 3, *passim*; Chap. 4, pp. 127ff.

<sup>31</sup> The master-subject relationships to which Diodorus applies ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία in other parts of the *Bibliothēke* can be classified as follows: 1) A king, a tyrant or a military leader towards his subjects (1.51.4, 54.2, 55.10, 60.3, 64.9, 65.3, 95.1-5; 2.28.5-7, 46.2; 3.60.2, 61.4, 72.4; 5.8.2, 59.6, 81.5; 6.1.8; 8.30.1; 9.24.1; 10.28.3; 11.26.4, 38.1, 53.2, 71.2; 12.50.1; 13.22.4; 14.9.8, 42.1, 45.1, 45.5, 70.3; 15.60.5, 61.2; 16.20.6, 55.3; 17.2.2, 4.1, 4.3, 4.9, 24.1, 69.9, 102.4, 104.4; 18.14.1-2, 18.8, 33.3, 33.5, 40.4, 61.2, 75.2; 19.9.6, 20.1, 24.1, 44.3, 50.2, 55.6, 91.5, 92.5, 102.5; 20.113.3; 21.17.4, credited to the historian Callias of Syrause; 22.2.4; 28.9.1; 31.32.1, 32a.1); 2) A leading citizen towards other citizens (9.11.1, 12.1; 12.16.2; 13.27.4, 69.1; 14.4.1, 5.5-6; 17.103.7; 18.74.3; 21.16.6); 3) A victorious individual/community towards the subdued (3.54.5-6; 11.67.2; 12.3.3; 13.21.7, 22.6, 23.4, 25.1, 26.3, 27.4, 29.3, 29.6; 14.102.2, 105.3; 15.57.1; 16.8.2, 8.5; 17.22.5, 36.1, 37.4, 37.6, 38.3-4, 66.6, 73.1, 76.2, 91.8; 18.17.7, 18.4, 18.6; 18.45.4; 19.86.3; 20.17.1; 21.11.1; 23.15.2; 25.3.1; 27.6.1-2, 15.1, 15.3, 16.2, 18.1; 28.3.1, 7.1; 29.10.1; 30.14.1,



often so unfettered that φιλανθρωπία can even be extended beyond living human beings to objects such as gods (5.4.4), deceased (13.75.4; 26.16.1) and animals (3.25.9), Diodorus hardly if at all uses them in regard to slaves. The only example in which ἐπιείκεια is used concerning the treatment of slaves can be found in a passage on the siege of Aesernia during the Social War (37.19), for the account of which, however, Posidonius is again most likely to have been the source (see Chap. 4). In short, except for a few sporadic remarks (see below), an extensive analysis of the relationship between masters and slaves is nowhere to be found before the account of the First Slave War. All this suggests that Diodorus, for the first time in his writing, came across a systematic examination of the ethical problem of the ‘real’ slavery - a question that has so far been largely foreign to the *Bibliothēke* - in his source for the slave wars, Posidonius, and consequently incorporated it into a conceptual framework for master-subject relationships which was already familiar to him, that is, φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια.

When Posidonius was writing his *Histories*, slave revolts must have been particularly topical and a matter of serious concern thanks to the havoc caused by the Spartacus War, which was then deemed to have threatened Rome seriously. Yet at the same time, it is easily imaginable that the Posidonian accounts of the Sicilian Slave Wars would also have aroused particular interest in Diodorus himself. On the one hand, his literary motives may well have been largely due to his notorious regionalism, and therefore less universal than those of Posidonius, who was essentially a third party to Sicilian affairs. Thus the fact that the incidents simply took place in his native Sicily may have been his main reason for including such an extensive account of the two slave wars. However, we may also reasonably argue that Diodorus and his contemporaries would indeed have felt concern about the problem of ‘Sicilian slavery’, if not slavery in general, and hence the danger of another slave revolt, which

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23.2; 31.3.1-2, 8.1, 8.4, 9.4-5, 33.1; 32.4.1-4, 6.1, 7.1, 23.1); 4) A powerful community towards its subject communities (11.50.8, 70.3; 12.76.2; 13.22.1; 14.90.3; 15.1.3, 15.1, 28.4, 29.8, 31.1; 16.49.7; 26.17.1; 28.15.1; 30.8.1; 31.30.1; 32.2.1); 5) An individual or a community towards other individuals or communities on equal terms (5.46.3; 11.26.1; 13.3.4, 58.3; 14.6.3, 44.3; 15.63.2; 16.3.4, 67.1; 18.7.4, 46.2; 19.56.1, 110.3; 20.27.3; 22.8.5; 29.22.1; 30.2.1); 6) Among the members of a community (1.93.2, 93.4; 3.8.3; 5.14.1); 7) An individual or a community towards outsiders (2.56.1; 3.56.2; 4.57.4; 5.7.7, 34.1; 13.83.1; 14.8.3; 17.112.6).



probably had become less acute than in earlier days yet had not completely diminished by the time of his composition of the *Bibliothèque*. It is true that Cicero claimed that there had been no danger of a slave uprising in Sicily either at the time of the Social War or when the Spartacus War was raging in South Italy (*Verr.* 2.5.5-8). However, two passages in Augustus' *Res Gestae*, one referring to the capture of no less than thirty-thousand runaway slaves who had revolted at the time of his campaigns against Sex. Pompeius in 36 BC (25.1) and the other describing Sextus' occupation of Sicily and Sardinia as a *bellum servile* (27.3), suggest that Sicily was still employing slave labour on a large scale and was vulnerable to revolts as late as the early days of the Augustan period.<sup>32</sup> These 'testimonia' must contain more than crass Augustan propaganda aimed at reducing Pompeian resistance in Sicily to a slave revolt. For if there had been neither such reality of large slave ownership nor the slightest prospect of a slave rebellion, Augustus would hardly have been able to make his propaganda even a bit plausible.<sup>33</sup>

On the other hand, the Diodoran narrative does not reveal much about how the realities of Sicilian slavery in Diodorus' own days actually affected, beyond the lexical and stylistic level, his adaptation of the Posidonian material on the slave wars and other references to slaves in the rest of the *Bibliothèque*. There are, it is true, some cases in which Diodorus, in earlier books, addresses the ethical question of the 'real' slavery. For example, he quotes Archytas, a mathematician and follower of Pythagoras, contemporary of Plato, who gave his slaves who had offended him a

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<sup>32</sup> *RG* 25.1: *eo bello servorum qui fugerant a dominis suis et arma contra rem publicam ceperant triginta fere millia capta...*

<sup>33</sup> Despite Brunt and Moore (1967), p. 66, who dismiss it as mere propaganda. The very fact that Sextus was able to man his ships with freed slaves indicates extensive availability of slaves ready to flee from their masters; cf. Syme (1939), pp. 228 and 233. This example of Augustus' presentation of the *Bellum Siculum* - which was essentially a combination of civil war and provincial rebellion - as a mere slave revolt leads us, incidentally, to yet another speculation: were the Sicilian Slave Wars, too, not provincial revolts against the Roman state, disguised as 'slave revolts' by pro-Roman sources? Verbrugghe (1974) addresses this very question. He maintains that the First Slave War was not a slave uprising but a combination of provincial rebellion and slave revolt, and attributes this supposed distortion of the nature of the war to Posidonius' exclusive use of information from pro-Roman aristocrats in Sicily. This is an interesting proposition, since the Diodoran narrative in fact betrays evidence of some unrest among free (poor) citizens (see above). Though Verbrugghe's thesis may well contain some grains of truth on the actual nature of the war, the extant evidence does not seem to be sufficient to support it; see also Hoben (1978), p. 65 n. 9, who questions his thesis in view of the fact that those very nobles in Sicily are not favourably treated at all in the text.



moral paradox: ‘...οὐκ ἂν ἐγενήθησαν ἀθῶοι τηλικαῦτα ἀμαρτήσαντες, εἰ μὴ ἔτυχεν ὀργιζόμενος’ (10.7.4); he also praises the Indian law that forbids slavery (2.39.5) as well as an Egyptian law which Solon was said to have brought to Athens (cf. Hdt. 2.177), imposing the death penalty on anyone who had killed a free man or a slave, since ‘they wished that it should not be through the accidental differences in men’s condition in life but through the principles governing their actions that all men should be restrained from evil deeds’ (1.77.5-6). However, it is rather hard to see whether these remarks are attributable to Diodorus himself or to his sources. The Archytas episode, for example, was probably a well-known anecdote in Stoic traditions (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 4.36.78: *Quo te modo ... accepissem, nisi iratus essem*).

Yet there is one interesting exception in a passage from Bk. 11, for which book Diodorus’ main source is likely to have been Timaeus (and Ephorus).<sup>34</sup> The general context of the narrative concerns the foundation of the town of Palici in Sicily by Ducetius, leader of the Siceli who unified them into a federation in the mid-5th century (11.88.6). Yet Diodorus soon turns away from Ducetius and goes on to introduce the sanctuary of Palici: he describes the precinct as often being a refuge of slaves who are treated brutally by their masters, adding that they will remain protected there until their masters pledge humane (φιλόανθρωπος) treatment ; and the area, he says, is embellished with colonnades and resting-places (11.89.6-7). At this point Diodorus resumes the main narrative (πρὸς δὲ τὴν συνεχῇ τοῖς προΐστορημένοις διήγησιν ἐπάνιμεν ‘we shall return to the narrative at the point where our history broke off’), only to conclude it with a cross-reference to a later destruction of the town, which since then ‘has remained uninhabited until our own time (καθ’ ἡμᾶς χρόνον)’. All the above digression, unlike the main narrative on Ducetius’ achievements, is recounted in the present tense. Yet the conditions described here hardly seem to fit the Sicily of the early third century, when Timaeus was writing, and seem to have more to do with Diodorus’ own days.<sup>35</sup> All this suggests the non-Timaeian nature of the section concerning slaves, and probably the whole digression

<sup>34</sup> Especially the earlier chapters concerning Gelon’s victory at Himera and its aftermath (11.20-26) are commonly thought to derive from Timaeus: cf. *FGH* 2C.88; Sacks (1990), pp. 123f.

<sup>35</sup> See also Diodorus’ Hellenistic colouring of Gelon in the Timaeian material of Bk. 11, discussed by Rutter (1993), pp. 175-178; cf. Sacks (1990), p. 124.

was inserted into Timaeus' brief remark on Ducetius' founding of the town. The question is, where did Diodorus obtain this particular information from?

The sanctuary of Palici in fact became the setting of important events in the Second Slave War, as attested by Diodorus' narrative in Bk. 36: it was the place where fugitive slaves first banded together (36.3.3) and where Salvius, the slave leader, proclaimed himself king, after offering sacrifices of thanksgiving for his victory (36.7.1). Thus one possibility is that Diodorus learned the story of Palici as a refuge of slaves from Posidonius' *Histories*, which, on that hypothesis, must have included it as a digression in the narrative of the Second Slave War, and that he transferred that portion of his source to an earlier context in Bk. 11. We have already seen other examples in which our historian readily moved some Posidonian material from the original context in the *Histories* to any earlier sections of the *Bibliothēke*, such as ethnographic accounts in Bks. 4 and 5, that seemed more appropriate for his own purposes (Chap. 2). There is, however, one snag in this explanation. The digression on Palici begins with a detailed description of the marvels of the geysers in the area, a natural phenomenon that would surely have attracted Posidonius' scientific interest had he ever known of it (11.89.1-6). Yet Diodorus' account lacks any attempt at a scientific explanation of these natural marvels, although Posidonius has been renowned since antiquity for such explanations. Diodorus merely reports a well-known superstition concerning the sulphur of the 'Craters' (cf. Macrobian *Sat.* 5.19.19-21; Sil. Ital. *Pun.* 14.219). I seriously doubt whether the philosopher would have been content with a description like Diodorus', and it would be rather more credible if a brief yet sober report in Strabo on these geysers (6.2.9), which appears between two Posidonian citations on Sicily (FF 227; 250 EK), were to derive from him.<sup>36</sup> It seems far likelier, in my view, that Diodorus himself knew the history of Palici and its traditional function as an asylum for maltreated slaves. When he was writing on Ducetius and his foundation of the city of Palici in Bk. 11, he probably recalled the rôle the sanctuary had played during the Second Slave War, which he had learned

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<sup>36</sup> See the Posidonian fragments classified under 'Sciences' in Edelstein-Kidd; under 'Länder u. Völker' and 'Geographisches (Περὶ ὠκεανού)' in FGH. Drews (1962), p. 392 n. 31, also maintains that Diodorus' account of the geysers of Palici, 'twenty miles from his home', was based on his own local knowledge.



from previous reading of Posidonius, and saw fit to insert the whole digression into the Timaeian material.<sup>37</sup> It should finally be noted that in this passage, we find the only instance outside the accounts of the two slave wars in which Diodorus used his favourite keyword for ideal master-subject relationships, φιλανθρωπία, to describe the treatment of slaves.

#### 4. CAUSATION

##### THE FIRST SLAVE WAR

The enormous scholarly attention it has caught notwithstanding, the earlier part of the account of the First Slave War helps little to answer questions concerning the conditions and practices of the slave economy in *latifundia*, such as 'distribution of wealth, number of the slaves, death rate and reproduction, use of slave labour within the three sectors of economy, labour wages and diet, technique of the use of land...'<sup>38</sup> In fact, these are fairly modern preoccupations and never entered the ancients' minds. No authors in antiquity, even agricultural writers like Varro, had ever broached that kind of question. What the ancient - as well as modern - historians most vigorously pursued was the search for αἰτία, and the author who wrote on the Sicilian Slave Wars was no exception. Diodorus' account of the First Slave War begins: '...ὁ δουλικὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπανεστὴ πόλεμος ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαυτῆς (the slave war broke out for reasons of the following kind)' (34/5.2.1). The author, however, seems to leave even this important aspect of the general development of the First Slave War rather nebulous, in spite of all his implicit and explicit criticisms of the abuse of slave labour as practised in Sicily, observed in the preceding section of my discussion. What *in fact* caused the outbreak of the revolt? The fundamentally Posidonian views on proper master-slave relationships would lead us to believe that it was thanks to the misconduct of a single Siceliot Greek, Damophilus. However, the rather lengthy introductory section, preserved in the *Excerpts*, which immediately follows the above quotation, devotes attention to an altogether different aspect: a gloomy sketch of the worsening social

<sup>37</sup> Cf. also Walton (1967), pp. 296-7, who prints the above cross-reference to the destruction of the city of Palici (11.90.2) as a *fragmentum incertum* (1a), suggesting that Diodorus had the account of the Second Slave War in mind (n. 2). Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 114, also believes that this cross-reference specifically refers to the Second Slave War (36.3.3).

<sup>38</sup> Bringmann, 1986, pp. 58-59.

conditions in Sicily. This is a picture of the ruthless exploitation of the slaves on agricultural land, and of the anarchy prevailing in the Sicilian countryside through the rampant banditry of the slave herdsmen (34/5.27-32).

One wonders how the author intended to link this general picture to the Damophilus-episode, which was clearly designed to serve as the exploration of the *causa efficiens* of the revolt, but in fact looks very accidental and rather irrelevant to the supposed misery in farmland and pasture. The war actually broke out in Enna, where Damophilus and Megallis lived - that is, among domestic slaves in urban households, not among agricultural or pastoral slaves (34/5.2.37-38).<sup>39</sup> Furthermore, how can the obvious criticism in the introduction levelled against the excessive freedom given to the pastoral slaves in the countryside be reconciled with all the sympathy shown towards the slaves maltreated by their cruel masters? The problems do not stop here: the Roman and Italian landowners, who are so conspicuous by their excess in these introductory chapters (34/5.2.3; 2.27-28; 2.31-32; 2.34), play no part at all in the actual outbreak and subsequent development of the war - as I have noted, the landowners who are made directly responsible for the uprising in Diodorus' narrative are all Siceliot Greeks. In fact, doubts have often been raised about the extensive ownership of Sicilian lands by Romans and Italians at the time of the First Slave War, alleged by Diodorus, and if that factor were removed the picture of the Greek involvement in the outbreak of the revolt would become more consonant with the reality.<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, this introduction includes a notorious reference to the equestrian jury at the *repetundae* court, which, placed as it is there before the Gracchan legislation, is a glaring anachronism (34/5.2.3; 2.31). The author raises the question of the equestrian control of the extortion court in order to blame the Roman

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<sup>39</sup> This point was partly made by Càssola (1982), p. 769. The second revolt seems likewise to have started from urban slaves, as its instigators first departed from Syracuse to Palici (36.3.3). In the latter case, however, no distinction is made between household slaves and those employed on the farmland, and hence there is no contradiction with the overall picture offered by the account of the second war.

<sup>40</sup> Verbrugghe (1972), pp. 541-544, on the basis of Livy and Cicero, maintains that the penetration into Sicily by Roman knights and Italian businessmen in any large numbers is incorrect at this stage, and that even at the time of Verres' governorship most of the Sicilian farmland still belonged to Sicilian Greeks; cf. also Verbrugghe (1974), pp. 47f.; Sacks (1990), p. 143 and n. 103-105; yet see below for further discussion in regard to the 'Polla inscription'.



knights for having turned a blind eye to, or even encouraged, the delinquency of their herdsmen. Again, this too seems rather irrelevant to the direct cause of the war and hence to the real responsibility for its outbreak.

Thus the whole introduction appears to accord ill with the narrative of the outbreak of the revolt that follows it. It is especially because of this apparent awkwardness that some scholars have postulated either a mosaic of multiple sources here, or a 'contamination' of the original Posidonian account by Diodorus. The suspicion that the passage on the equestrian jury does not derive from Posidonius chiefly arises from the fact that the *lex iudiciaria* by C. Gracchus in 123/2 is itself treated later in the same book (34/5.25), in a passage which was in all probability based on his *Histories* (Chap. 3). The philosopher, it is claimed, could not have made such a chronological blunder contradicting his own narrative. However, the origin of this reference to the equestrian jury has been much debated, and no convincing conclusion has yet been reached, and I doubt whether there ever will be one. One school of thought maintains that Diodorus imported it from another source, while others argue that the anachronism goes back to Posidonius himself, either through use of an anti-equestrian Roman source and/or his own hostility towards that *ordo*, or simply out of a simple lack of knowledge of the historical reality in this case.<sup>41</sup> The suggestion has also been made that it was indeed Diodorus who was responsible for all the criticisms of the Roman and Italian landowners and the equestrian jury. The argument is that Posidonius himself had held them to be true of Asia Minor (cf. Diod.

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<sup>41</sup> Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979), p. 153 n. 38, cast doubt on Posidonius' authorship of the passage in question; Càssola (1982), pp. 768f., who speculates the existence of another, ill-informed source not only for this chronological blunder but for also the entire introduction (34/5.2.1-3; 2.25-31), which he claims would explain other contradictions in the narrative. On the other hand, Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 207, is more inclined to suggest that the mistake was due to Posidonius' use of a tendentious Roman source; Malitz (1983), p. 148 n. 100, simply assumes that this hypothetical source was Rutilius Rufus; yet Desideri (1972), p. 489 n. 36, regards the anachronism as 'una spia dell'animosità di Posidonio contro gli equites'; Rizzo (1976), while in his 'dual hypothesis' believing that Diodorus used, in addition to Posidonius, another source (presumably Caecilius of Caleacte) with different historical perspective of the war from that of the philosopher, attributes the reference to the Roman knights to Posidonius. An interesting hypothesis has been made by Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 198-200 and 204, who suggests that Posidonius was uninformed of the situations of Sicily either at the time of the Slave Wars or when he visited the island in the 90s, and assumed that they had been more or less the same as the economic and social conditions of Italian *latifundia* of his own time, and thus applied the same interpretations to the account of the First Slave War; cf. *id.* (1972), pp. 545 and 549.



37.5) and of Sicily at the time of the Second Slave War, and that Diodorus had copied them out and chosen to apply them to the time of the First Slave War.<sup>42</sup>

This is a question to which the existing evidence refuses to give any definitive answer. My own view is that Diodorus' conflation of multiple sources of varying historical qualities is the least likely possibility. First of all, the introductory part depicting the general lawless situation in the province is more relevant to the main narrative than it would seem at first glance. Rather than reflecting two or more separate sources, it seems to me to have been intended to introduce the background - or the *causa praecedens* - of the immediate cause of the war. There is actually some evidence that will support this: the revolt, to be sure, may well have started from domestic slaves, but in the text there are some detectable traces of contacts and collaborations between these domestic slaves on one hand and those who worked as herdsmen in the countryside and who had fostered brigandage on the other. At the earliest stage of the war the rebels not only 'set free those in bonds' but also assembled those who lived nearby 'at a certain field near Enna'(34/5.2.24b); and Cleon, whose followers subsequently joined the revolt, was a slave-herdsman and 'accustomed to a life of brigandage' (34/5.2.43). This is why Rupilius, even after his suppression of the main revolt, still had to 'free it (sc. Sicily) from every nest of robbers' (34/5.23). It is even conceivable that some household slaves themselves, when occasions arose, had been habitually engaged in highway robbery in the countryside, or at least Damophilus would encourage his slaves to do so: when his domestics (οἰκέται) begged him to provide them with clothing, he dismissively replied: 'Do those who travel through the country go naked? Do they not supply a ready means for anyone who needs clothes? (οἱ διὰ τῆς χώρας ὁδοιποροῦντες γυμνοὶ βαδίζουσι, καὶ οὐχ ἑτοίμην παρέχονται τὴν χορηγίαν τοῖς χρεῖαν ἔχουσιν ἱματίων;)' (34/5.2.38).

Furthermore, even Diodorus' testimony of the extensive presence of Italian slave holders-landowners in Sicily at the time of the first war may contain some historical truth. A famous inscription from Polla - usually thought to be the ancient Forum Popillii - in Lucania records that the author of the inscription hunted down

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<sup>42</sup> Sacks (1990), pp. 146f.



over nine hundred fugitive slaves and returned them to their *Italian* masters during his praetorship in Sicily (*CIL* 1<sup>2</sup>.2.638-*ILS* 23 = *ILLRP* 454; cp. *ILLRP* 453 and 454a).<sup>43</sup> If the inscription is attributable, as was once suggested, to P. Popillius Laenas, the anti-Gracchan consul of 132, his praetorship in Sicily can be assigned to ca. 135 (cf. Broughton, *MRR*), the very year when the First Slave War is thought to have broken out. More recently, however, T. Annius Rufus, cos 128, has more strongly been favoured as a likelier author for the inscription. The latest possible date for the latter's praetorship is the year 131, so that if the inscription is by him the hunting of runaway slaves mentioned in it could then be related to the re-organisation of Sicily under the *lex Rupilia*, a set of statutes enacted by P. Rupilius after the suppression of the revolt - although its known contents strangely do not concern slaves at all (Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.32-34; 37-44; 59; 90; 125; Val. Max. 6.9.8).<sup>44</sup> In any case, if either Popillius Laenas or Annius Rufus was the author of this inscription, the content would then support the view that there were some Italians who owned a large number of slaves in Sicily around the time of the First Slave War. Although the inscription itself does not say how large a presence those Italians were on the island at that time, it certainly lends some credence to the Diodoran account and, incidentally, to the only other parallel testimony which appears in Florus (2.7.3).

However, even if the two elements of causation - the lawlessness of the slave herdsman and the cruelty of the slave owners - were closely intertwined with each other, at least in the author's perception, and even if a considerable Italian presence in Sicily is conceivable at that date, these two factors nevertheless would not provide a complete explanation for the sudden disappearance of those reprehensible Italian landowners from the scene once the war breaks out. Moreover, the fact still remains that the equestrian control of the extortion court is anachronistic. In order to explain this undeniable anachronism, it has also been suggested that Posidonius was

<sup>43</sup> 'Et eidem praetor in | Sicilia fugiteivos Italicorum | conquaesivei redideique | homines DCCCCXVII.'

<sup>44</sup> See Degraffi, comm. *ad loc.* in *ILLRP*; for T. Annius as the likely author of the Polla inscription, see Wiseman (1964), pp. 21f. and 30-37; *id.* (1969), pp. 88-91; Reynolds (1971), p. 139; Broughton, *MRR* 3.16f. Yet see also Verbrugghe (1973), pp. 26-30, who maintains that the fugitive slaves mentioned in the inscription did not belong to the Italians living in Sicily, but to those living in Italy; he (*op. cit.*, pp. 33-35) also argues for yet another candidate for the authorship of the inscription, Ap. Claudius Pulcher, cos 143.

misinformed by a Roman source already coloured by narrow partisan hostility towards the *equites* and prepared to distort historical facts, and that source was Rutilius Rufus.<sup>45</sup> As will be seen, there are certainly some elements that suggest a Roman point of view and/or pro-Roman bias in the narrative of the first war, and it is not at all out of the question that Posidonius drew on Rutilius for his account of the war (see above). However, I do not think it likely either that this anachronism originated in the Roman source Posidonius used, even if, or rather especially if, it was Rutilius. However hostile he may have been towards the equestrian order (Chap. 3), Rutilius was, after all, a lawyer, and evidence suggests that he was meticulous in the niceties of Roman law. He would thus be one of the last people from whom such a gross distortion of the judicial history of Republican Rome might be expected.<sup>46</sup>

There are thus only two possible culprits left, Posidonius and Diodorus themselves. It is, in my view, perfectly conceivable that Posidonius in fact concocted an equestrian involvement in the critical conditions in Sicily around the time of the First Slave War, on the analogy of the Second Slave War, by the time of which equestrian control of the extortion court was a reality. The fact that Posidonius himself covered C. Gracchus' *lex iudiciaria*, which made an equestrian jury possible for the first time, would not necessarily invalidate this hypothesis, as it may well be questioned whether he was fully aware of all the immediate implications the legislation had brought to the rest of the Empire. If Posidonius was indeed responsible for the anachronism, his reason for doing so would have been not so much simple *horror vacui* as a desire to use the *equites* as a rhetorical accessory to enhance the urgency of the general grievances. In this respect, it is interesting to observe the different functions the *equites* had in the aetiology of the two wars. In the second war, the *equites* and *publicani* play an indispensable part as a *causa efficiens* (see below). On the other hand, a causal analysis of the first war without *equites* would still have made perfect sense, since it was a Greek slave-owner who was the immediate cause of its outbreak. We certainly should not make any assumption about Posidonius' political attitude, if indeed he had any, towards a particular Roman class. The attested

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<sup>45</sup> See above, note 41.

<sup>46</sup> See Chap. 4, p. 109.



fragments betray nothing on that question. Yet he may well have been influenced by views expressed by his friend, Rutilius, about the *equites* in general and above all by Rutilius' own sorry experience of the equestrian court, which Posidonius himself recounted in the *Histories* (cf. F78 EK). Influences of this kind would have sufficed to lead the philosopher to assume that, where there was an evil, there must have been the *equites* (see Chap. 3).<sup>47</sup>

On the other hand, it seems equally possible that Diodorus himself created some of the difficulties besetting the present text. For there are, in the first place, some elements in the earlier part of the account which indicate a textual intrusion by Diodorus into his source. The very beginning of the whole account (preserved by Photius), placing the First Slave War in the chronological context of Sicilian history, has often been recognised as Diodorus' own composition: 'μετὰ τὴν Καρχηδονίων κατάλυσιν ἐπὶ ἑξήκοντα ἔτεσι τῶν Σικελῶν εὐροούντων ἐν πᾶσιν, ὁ δουλικὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπανεῖστη πόλεμος...' (34/5.2.1).<sup>48</sup> It is interesting here to observe that only in this opening sentence is the whole incident designated as a 'Slave War' (δουλικὸς πόλεμος), and in the rest of the narrative it is always referred to as an ἀπόστασις, στάσις δούλων or simply κακός. This seems to suggest that, when Diodorus added the opening phrase at the beginning of the account, he fell back on a terminology - δουλικὸς πόλεμος or *bellum servile* (cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.5.7-8; Liv. *Per.* 56; Flor. 2.7) - that only became current around the time of the composition of his own work, and had yet to become established when Posidonius was writing his *Histories*.<sup>49</sup>

Yet Diodorus may well have added more than merely an opening phrase. The Damophilus episode, which follows the introduction, contains a remark that is altogether absent in the parallel Posidonian fragment in Athenaeus (F59 EK), that

<sup>47</sup> Cf. Liv. 45.18.4: *ubi publicanus esset, ibi aut ius publicum vanum aut libertatem socii nullam esse.*

<sup>48</sup> Hoben (1978), p. 125 n. 48; Malitz (1983), p. 146 n. 78; Rizzo (1976), pp. 263f., regards this opening section as inappropriate to an account of the grave phenomenon of the slave revolt and dismisses it as indicative 'della mentalità schematicistica del compilatore.' He assigns, however, only this phrase to Diodorus and not the aetiological part that follows. For a similar example of Diodorus' adding his own introduction to a causal explanation that reflects - or directly derives from - Posidonius, see Chap. 4 on the proem to Bk. 37 (the introduction to the Social War).

<sup>49</sup> See Hoben (1978), p. 74. Cf. Chap. 4, note 19, for Diodorus' possible use of the term of his own time to designate the Social War as the πόλεμος Μαρσικός / *bellum Marsicum*.

Damophilus' luxury was driven by his desire to emulate the Italian landowners, who had been exercising their wealth and power in much the same way: '...οὐ μόνον τὴν τρυφὴν τῶν κατὰ Σικελίαν Ἰταλικῶν ἐζήλωσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκέτας πλῆθος καὶ τὴν εἰς τούτους ἀπανθρωπίαν καὶ βαρύτητα' (34/5.2.34). On the one hand, the absence of this particular statement in the Posidonian fragment might have been attributed to a chance of survival of the text. Yet on the other, in the latter part of the Diodoran passage Damophilus' excessive way of life is no longer likened to that of the Italians, but to that of the Persians, simply repeating the same points of comparison: '...ὑπεραίρων τὴν Περσικὴν τρυφὴν ταῖς δαπάναις καὶ πολυτελείαις· ὑπερέβαλε δὲ καὶ κατὰ τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν' (34/5.2.35). This latter analogy appears quite abruptly and sits uncomfortably with the earlier comparison with the Italians, giving a rather superfluous impression. Furthermore, in an attested fragment Posidonius himself praises the Italians for retaining an old-fashioned, frugal way of life up to the present time (καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἔτι) (F267 EK), in stark and odd contrast with the degenerate and cruel Italian landowners in Diodorus' narrative. In view of the other examples in which Diodorus can be shown to have departed from his sources and added critical remarks on the Romans and the Italians (5.36.3-4; 31.26.2; 38.1-3), it seems very probable that, in the Damophilus passage too, he inserted the reference to the Italians, probably inspired by the analogy Posidonius had originally drawn between Damophilus and the Persians in his own narrative.<sup>50</sup> If we extend our hypothesis further, Diodorus may also have been responsible for a similar comparison between the Sicilians and the Italians in respect of their arrogance and greed in more general terms, which comes between the above opening phrase and the Damophilus episode (34/5.2.27). In short, it may have been Diodorus who accentuated the overall 'Italian involvement' in the first war more strongly than the historical reality would have justified.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> See Chap. 4, pp. 129ff.

<sup>51</sup> Rizzo (1976), in building up his overall hypothesis, tends to be careless of some of the historical and textual facts: the 'Italian' *equites*, for example, whom he always refers to and identifies with the 'Italian landowners', could not have existed before the Social War, nor are these *equites* so designated by Diodorus himself; he does refer to the 'Italian' landowners and the 'Roman' knights, but never to the 'Italian' knights - a confusion which also appears in Sacks (1990), pp. 142f., who refers to the 'Italian *equites*'. Yet Diodorus' own text may well be partly to blame for this confusion: having spoken of an extensive presence of Italian



This, needless to say, is not to deny the fundamentally Posidonian origin of the account of the First Slave War, and I do not pretend that the suggestions I have made so far are conclusive. Alternative explanations would of course be possible, such as that the criticisms directed against the excesses of the Italian landowners, the connivance of the Roman *equites* operating on the island and the incompetence of Roman magistrates, all reflect general indignation at such situations and Rome's *laissez-faire* attitude towards them among the contemporary provincials, from whom Posidonius and/or Diodorus may have obtained a somewhat garbled picture of the first war. As far as the available evidence goes, however, the interpretations offered here seem to explain best many of the historiographical problems in the text. The *historical* problems, on the other hand - how accurate is the picture of the Italian ownership of a large tract of Sicilian land, what was the reality of the Sicilian economy and industry at that time, and so on - will have to wait for further archaeological discoveries and investigations.

THE SECOND SLAVE WAR      In comparison with the aetiology of the First Slave War, with all the problems I have set forth, the link between cause and effect appears to be far more clearly articulated in the account of the Second Slave War. It is indeed so clear-cut that it practically allows no other possible interpretation: here the *publicani*, the provincial governor P. Licinius Nerva and the equestrian landowners (mentioned only as 'notables') are singled out as directly responsible for precipitating the war (36.3.1-3; cf. Dio, 27.F93). The main narrative which follows also seems to support this verdict, since the only victim of the second war attested by name is a Roman *eques* P. Clonius (36.4). The moral question of the relationships between slaves and individual slave owners is no longer raised, and not surprisingly, there is not a single passage that preaches the virtues of ἐπιείκεια and φιλανθρωπία. The entire narrative, in fact, carries on with almost no disruption or digression, yet at the same time, it is laden with partisan criticisms of the Roman

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landowners, he says 'most of the landowners were Roman knights' (34/5.2.3; 2.31). One wonders if Diodorus himself did not fail to distinguish between the Romans and the Italians, the latter of whom had been fully enfranchised and well Romanised by his own time; see Chap. 4, pp. 129ff.

commanders involved (see below). Almost every phase of the war is seen, it seems, from a purely Roman point of view, and it would appear pointless even to try to detect a mosaic of sources. At the outset there comes Marius' request for auxiliaries to Nicomedes, king of Bithynia and Rome's ally, in his campaigns against the Cimbri; then the king's complaint about the abduction of his subjects by *publicani*, followed by a senatorial decree ordering the emancipation of those citizens of the allied states thus illegally enslaved (36.3.1-2). This coherence throughout cannot result merely from Photius' abridgement of the original text: the few (indeed very few) fragments preserved in the *Excerpts* (36.9.2; 11) from the account of the Second Slave War simply present a more elaborate version of some of the topics covered by Photius' summary, not something different as many of the Constantinian passages on the first war do. The question is, what are the implications of these differences between the accounts of the two slave wars?

This general impression of the character of the account of the second war might well lead one to suspect that Posidonius simply transmitted the information obtained from his Roman friends. Unfortunately, however, the lack of positive evidence from other sources does not encourage such a hasty conclusion, especially because none of the fragments attributed by name to Posidonius directly deals with the Second Slave War. There are, on the other hand, a few references to the war among those attested fragments. In one fragment in Athenaeus (6.272 E-F = F262 EK), for example, Posidonius reports that the Attic slaves working in the mines revolted and seized Sunium, to which Larensius, who is supposed to have quoted the Posidonian passage, adds: 'this was the period when also in Sicily the second uprising of slaves took place (οὗτος δ' ἦν ὁ καιρὸς ὅτε καὶ ἐν Σικελίᾳ ἡ δευτέρα τῶν δούλων ἐπανάστασις ἐγένετο)'. Yet one cannot be sure whether this Posidonian quotation on the Attic revolt directly derived from the supposed narrative of the second war in his *Histories*, since no book title or number is attached to the quotation. Another Posidonian reference to the second war can be found in the famous fragment on the Athenion episode (5.213 B = F253 EK), in which M'. Aquillius, cos 101, is introduced as having celebrated a Sicilian triumph (cf. Diod. 36.10). Some scholars, furthermore, believe that a Posidonian fragment in Strabo,



enumerating the three Sicilian cities of Syracuse, Eryx and Enna (6.2.7 = F250 EK), derived from the context of the two slave wars, with Enna being the centre of the first war and Syracuse, among others, of the second (36.3.3-6).<sup>52</sup> From these few indications, though not directly relevant to the incident itself, it may be reasonably assumed that the philosopher also dealt with the second war in his *Histories*. Furthermore, because Diodorus certainly used Posidonius for his account of the First Slave War, it has usually been thought that he must have consulted the *Histories* for that of the second war too. Thus scholars, probably rightly, have conjectured that the Diodoran account of the second war at least echoes, and at best transmits, Posidonius' lost original.<sup>53</sup>

Provided that Diodorus' account of the second war is indeed based on Posidonius, however, how much of him is reflected in the *Bibliothèque*? What little has now been left of the account of the second war in Bk. 36, unlike that of the first war, almost exclusively comes from Photius' heavily abbreviated version, which picks up only an outline of the course of events. Largely for this reason, there is precious little in the narrative that points to 'Posidonian characteristics' of interpretation and presentation of historical events: as noted, its causal analysis contains no philosophical discourse that attempts to draw ethical lessons from history, an intellectual habit so deeply rooted in the tradition of Greek historiography. This impression, of course, may well be misleading. Where Constantinian *Excerpts* happen to have preserved more detailed parallels to Photius' summary, one can easily detect those very arts of presentation that characterised many of the Posidonian fragments and the account of the First Slave War. For example, the introductory passages treating the minor slave revolts in Italy, which preluded the great war in Sicily, present human psychology as the driving force behind the scene: a Roman knight Titus Vettius, in his affair with a slave girl, became a 'slave to love' and embarked on a mad venture (εἰς ἔρωτα

<sup>52</sup> Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.858; but Malitz (1983), p. 152 n. 129, who attempts to locate the fragment specifically to Diod. 34.2.24b, can be no more than speculative.

<sup>53</sup> The Diodoran account of the Second Slave War has been regarded as a more or less faithful reproduction of Posidonius by Strasburger (1965), p. 43 n. 34; Harmatta (1971), pp. 23-25; Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 189-196; Rizzo (1976), pp. 283ff.; Malitz (1983), pp. 158-162; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.905, yet again cautiously; Theiler prints Diodorus as FF192a-b and 194a-b of Posidonius; *FGH*, on the other hand, does not include any Diodoran passages on the second war, even in the *Anhang*.

παράδοξον ἐνέπεσε; τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι δουλεύων) (36.2; 2a). The psychological interpretation of historical development certainly belongs both to Posidonius and to the Greek tradition in general.<sup>54</sup> Within the narrative of the war itself, too, another Constantinian fragment emphasises the faulty nature of human mentality, characteristically reminiscent of the narrative of the first war (36.11). In the light of these indications, therefore, it may well be conjectured that Diodorus' original text included more didactic messages comparable to those found in the account of the first war.

Posidonius was not an official chronicler of Rome; he was an erudite Hellenistic philosopher. He could have interpreted and presented the material at his disposal in his own critical light (and there is little doubt that he did so) even if the information eventually originated from the upper-class folks at Rome. Nevertheless, it seems still undeniable that several details in the narrative and, above all, the overall perspective in which the events are viewed, clearly point to their ultimate Roman origin. Take, for example, those minor revolts in Italy. The two great slave wars in Sicily must have aroused among the Romans a higher degree of interest in slave revolts in general, and this was probably the main reason why sufficient information on these lesser uprisings, which would otherwise have been largely forgotten, was available from Roman sources to Posidonius. As conspicuously in the account of the second war as in that of the first, various Roman elements emerge as the narrative proceeds. In order to illustrate this point, I shall now look more closely at the second half of the accounts, the war narratives proper.

## 5. THE NARRATIVE

The narrative of the two slave wars, like the aetiological part, does not tell us much about questions modern historians are prone to ask. What were the political objectives of the rebel slaves, or did they have any at all? Did they seriously believe that they

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<sup>54</sup> The use of ὁ ἔρωγ in historical aetiology has a long pedigree in the Greek historiographical tradition, descending from Herodotus: suffice it to mention the story of Gyges, entourage of Candaules and later king of Lydia (Hdt. 1.8-12); or to mention the abortive tyrannicide at Athens by Aristogeiton and Harmodius, which, according to Thucydides, 'was undertaken due to a love affair (δι' ἐρωτικὴν ξυντυχίαν ἐπεχειρήθη)' (6.54).



could establish and sustain a slave monarchy within a Roman province, or were they merely driven by the force of frantic emotion, fury (θυμός) and hatred (μῖσος), as the author of the accounts often likes to point out (34/5.2.11-12; 2.19: σωφρονίσαντες καὶ τὸ ἄλλο; 2.25-26; 2.37; 2.34b; 2.43: συναπονοήσασθαι; 9; 36.11.3)?<sup>55</sup> Why did those revolts last so long? Was it merely due to the incompetence of the Roman army? How were they suppressed? Photius' often ruthless abbreviation of the original helps little to answer these questions.

However, a careful reading of Diodorus' text seems to reveal some of the historical aspects of the wars as well as the way in which they are reported in the *Bibliothèque*. It appears, for example, that the rebels did have a workable organisation and some prospect for the future. The modern left-wing school of thought would put it that the causes of ancient slave revolts were an outcome of inevitable economic worsening in the so-called 'plantations', and this is probably what the Posidonian-Diodoran narrative was primarily meant to make its readers think. The author, as noted, also attaches equal importance to the 'psychological' effects of such an economic plight on slaves who were compelled to the brink of utter desperation. Whatever the author's intention may have been, however, there are many indications in the extant text that point to one factor in particular other than the economic - that is, what one might call the 'nationalistic', though in modern political terminology 'ethnic' would be a word more appropriate to describe the case. Most of the slaves were then imported from the Hellenistic kingdoms, and the homogeneity to some extent of the slaves' ethnic and cultural background, as far as the first war is concerned, can be discerned from the narrative.<sup>56</sup> This homogeneity must have helped the slaves unite under common objectives. If their conduct had merely been a result of blind madness, as the author suggests, why should they have taken various measures

<sup>55</sup> See Malitz (1983), pp. 140f; but he does admit (*ibid.*, n. 43) that this motif of mental 'illness' contradicts, to a certain extent, another favourite idea of just retaliation (see below). For Posidonius' pathology, see F163.23ff. EK; for his definition of 'fury', see F155.4f.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. Hoben (1978), pp. 68f. and 124, for the Syrian characteristics of the political institutions established by the rebels of the first war, which reflected their predominantly oriental origin; the religious unity of the rebels will also support this - see esp. Maróti (1967). Yet see also the somewhat unorthodox view in Verbrugghe (1974), pp. 51-52, who plays down the scale of the inflow of slaves from the Eastern Mediterranean into the western market and hence the rôle of the pirates in slave trade.



to secure their future resources? Why should they have cared to preserve private and public assets, while poor free-born were vandalising them (34/5.2.48)? Why should Salvius have avoided cities, lest his subjects be spoiled (36.4.4)? And why should Athenion have admitted only those suitable for battle and ordered the rest to remain engaged in their labours, so that he could obtain food (36.5.2-3)?<sup>57</sup> In my view, the contrast between these facts and the author's frequent depiction of the rebel slaves as 'out of their minds', reveals to some extent the point of view from which he and/or his source(s) saw the events. In the case of the first war, such a bias in the narrative is probably best illuminated around the figure of its ringleader, Eunus of Apamea, a fellow-countryman of Posidonius.

The slave king is persistently portrayed in a negative light throughout the narrative, in much the same way as Posidonius depicted the Athenian tyrant Athenion (cf. F253 EK): a bold charlatan (34/5.2.5-2.9; cf. the parallel in Flor. 2.7.4-6), unfit commander (34/5.2.14), effeminate and coward (34/5.2.22).<sup>58</sup> But was he? The same source, unintentionally or not, at times betrays a quite different profile of the man, that is, a leader of considerable talent. Eunus' use of the cult of ἡ Συρία θεά as a unifying force was well-thought out and effective in achieving his political aims; he successfully materialised his design of monarchic institutions, apparently reflecting his Syrian origin, which had long been laid out even before the revolt (34/5.2.7-8); his exploitation of human resources was shrewd (34/5.2.15-16) and his choice of personnel far-sighted (34/5.2.16; 2.42); and, above all, his production of a mime performance, publicising the rebels' moral grounds for the revolt and possibly directed at Sicilians and/or Romans, represents an extremely sophisticated - even modern, one might say - means of political propaganda (34/5.2.46).<sup>59</sup> Thus Florus admits more

<sup>57</sup> Hoben (1978), p. 71.

<sup>58</sup> These sections come from both Photius and the *Excerpts*. Hence the view by Rizzo (1976), pp. 280-283, that Photius' summary is coloured with an anti-Roman, pro-rebel bias in contrast to the opposite pro-Roman bias in the *Excerpts* (reflecting, according to his *Zweiquellentheorie*, two different sources), is untenable. Here and elsewhere we find unsympathetic pictures of the rebellious slaves in Photius as well as in the *Excerpts*.

<sup>59</sup> 'μίμους δὲ ἐξ ἀποστάσεως τοῖς ἑνδον ἐπεδείκνυτο, δι' ὧν οἱ δοῦλοι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν ἰδίων κυρίων ἀποστασίας ἐξεθεάτριζον, ὀνειδίζοντες αὐτῶν τὴν ὑπερηφανίαν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς εἰς τὸν ὀλεθρον προαγωγῆς ὕβρεως.' Here the meaning of τοῖς ἑνδον is unclear; the suggestion by Hoben (1978), p. 66, that it refers to the Romans, can be justified only from the preceding context. For the rôle of the cult of Atargatis in Eunus' organisation of the slave uprising, see Maróti (1967), *passim*, with reference to Lucian, *De dea Syria*; for



frankly the scale of Eunus' psychological impact upon the Romans: *Syrus quidam nomine Eunus - magnitudo cladum facit, ut meminerimus* (2.7.4). For Cleon, the other slave leader, there is less evidence overall, yet there appears to be a similar contradiction between the judgement passed on him by the author on the one hand, and on the other hand his actions as they actually emerge from the text: he is depicted as having been a brigand *par excellence*, and his uprising as a result of a loss of sense (πέσας συναπονοήσασθαι) (34/5.43). However, Cleon's voluntary subordination of himself and his massive forces to the command of Eunus makes it clear that, like Eunus, he was a sensible man with similar political agenda (34/5.2.17). Even the author admits, at one point, that his final struggle was heroic (ἥρωικῶς ἀγωνισάμενον) (34/5.2.21).

Does the generally negative judgement on the ringleaders of the first war indicate that Posidonius, Diodorus' source, was ill-disposed towards the rebels? Or was the source or sources he used already biased against them? If so, whose bias is it? There are, in fact, two conceivable groups of informants who would have been the ultimate sources of information on the slave wars, that is, Romans and local Sicilians. Traces of Roman traditions are easily visible, even in the account of the First Slave War, which in many other respects tend to sympathise with the hardship suffered by the slaves. For example, one passage presents the rebel slaves as treating their war prisoners harshly during the course of the war (34/5.8), and another depicts their sufferings under divine punishment for their act of sacrilege (34/5.9). In stark contrast to this sacrilege committed by the rebels, the Senate is made to appear pious and scrupulous: it sends a group of priests to Sicily to purify the sanctuaries of Aetnaean Zeus (34/5.10; cf. Cic. *Verr.* 4.108).<sup>60</sup>

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Eunus' claim to have established a slave state, Hoben (1978), pp. 65f.; for the Syrian form of representation of his monarchy, Hoben, *op. cit.*, pp. 68f.

<sup>60</sup> The exact purpose of this senatorial mission is controversial. Maróti (1967), p. 325, suggests that it took place at an earlier stage of the first war, and it was intended to bar the rebellious slaves from the sanctuary; he (*ibid.*) also believes that this mission was different from the one recorded by Cicero (*Verr.* 4.108), dispatched to the shrine of Demeter at Enna after the assassination of Ti. Gracchus; Walton (1967), p. 99 n. 1, and Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 102, however, identify these two events. Rizzo (1976), p. 282f., on the other hand, sees the measures taken by this senatorial mission as primarily intended to exclude the *equites* in Sicily, and presumably as having been carried out after the war.

In the account of the Second Slave War, Roman elements are even more apparent. The narrative itself, it is true, is loaded with unreserved attacks on the Roman personages involved and the tactical blunders they made during the course of the war. The Roman praetor Licinius Nerva, who has already been labelled in the causal analysis as a weak governor open to pressure (36.3.2-3), is repeatedly denounced for failing to check the revolt at the initial stage and allowing it to escalate further: he failed to counterattack the rebels promptly (36.4.1); he was ridiculed by the rebels as a coward, and that reputation encouraged more slaves to rise up (36.4.2); his refusal to grant the due emancipation to slaves who had remained loyal caused them to go over to the rebels (36.4.8). In the meantime, anarchy prevailed on the island 'since no Roman authorities were dispensing justice (διὰ τὸ μηδεμίαν Ῥωμαϊκὴν ἀρχὴν δικαιοδοτεῖν)' (36.11.2). Nerva's successors were no better, and possibly even worse: a similar charge of inertia (together with a hint at bribe-taking) is levelled against L. Licinius Lucullus and C. Servilius, who were both subsequently prosecuted and convicted at Rome, as the author loses no opportunity to point out (36.8.4-9.1; cf. Flor. 2.7.11). A fragment in the *De sent.* further adds salt to the wounds by cynically noting that Lucullus, in the hope of dispelling accusations made against himself, tried to hinder his successor Servilius from taking over the command smoothly (36.9.2).<sup>61</sup> Salvius and other slave leaders, in contrast, appear to be far superior in strategy to the Roman commanders they fought (36.4.2-4.5; 4.7-8; 5.2-3). These omnipresent criticisms of the Roman officials, of course, could come from any provincials resentful of the inefficiency of Roman rule. However, the character of these criticisms appears to reflect inside information, and so is more likely to have come from someone with more or less direct access to an inner circle of the upper echelons of the government at Rome.

The critical tone pervading the whole account seems more likely to reflect characteristically partisan polemics within Roman politics. In this respect, it would not be far-fetched to suggest that behind many of these criticisms there ultimately lies a Roman source (possibly Rutilius) transmitted through Posidonius. However, the

<sup>61</sup> Nerva's weak character is also emphasised by the variant tradition in Dio, 27.F93: καὶ γὰρ ἦν οὐκ ἄδωρος. According to Plutarch, Lucullus was prosecuted for peculation by his predecessor C. Servilius himself (*Luc.* 1; cf. *Cic. Verr.* 2.4.147; *Prov. Cons.* 22; *Acad.* 2.1).



Diodoran narrative of the first war also contains one element that would certainly have fallen outside the scope of the Roman tradition of the war - that is, the two anecdotal stories about the daughter of Damophilus (34/5.2.14; 2.39-40) and about a certain Gorgus of Morgantina (34/5.11). Both anecdotes concern Siceliot Greeks, and they are the most likely to have originated in the same group of people. It is uncertain whether these stories were acquired through oral enquiries, or whether they merely represent a kind of folklore in popular circulation. Whatever the case, the ultimate origin of these stories must have been local, and the existence of such anecdotes indicates the presence of a non-Roman source, that is, Sicilian. Romans could not possibly have had a favourable view of any rebellious slaves. Yet Siceliots, who may well have loathed the Italian landowners and the Roman *equites* in Sicily, would certainly have been equally hostile to the rebels, since they were the ones who had suffered most from those revolts. We have earlier observed apparent sympathy for the slaves in the aetiology of the first war, which belongs to Hellenistic thought and almost certainly goes back to Posidonius. There is, in addition, a recurrent theme in the narrative which constantly clashes with the diagnosis of slave revolts as mental 'illness' (34/5.2.19; 2.30; 2.43; 9.1; 36.11.3.) - that is, 'justified retaliation' by slaves against those who had earlier inflicted suffering on them (34/5.2.9; 2.13; 2.33; 2.40 and *passim*), a concept which itself is very Greek.<sup>62</sup> In view of these somewhat conflicting interpretations of the events, the negative picture of the rebel slaves and their ringleaders seems to have stemmed not so much from the author of the narrative himself as from the Roman and/or Sicilian sources he used. On the other hand, the fact that Posidonius, in line with his psychological theory, presented the slave revolts as manifestations of mental malady on the part of the rebel slaves shows that he, in effect, accepted the critical views in his sources expressed against the rebels. Yet the fragmentary state of the Diodoran material still leaves unanswered the important question of how the philosopher reconciled those apparent conflicts of judgement on the nature of a slave revolt, or whether he tried to do so at all.<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>62</sup> For the idea of retaliation, see Bringmann (1986), pp. 35-41.

<sup>63</sup> Hence it cannot necessarily be said, as Malitz (1983), pp. 140-141, claims, that the critical view of Eunus and his followers reflects Posidonius' own opinion, that is, his fundamental objection towards a slave revolt of this kind. It is not, however, to invalidate the thesis by Bringmann (1986), pp. 43-46, that Posidonius used the figure of Eunus to illustrate



At any rate, we may well assume that much of the material in the narrative mirroring a Roman point of view was transmitted by Posidonius, since he was certainly in a position to consult, if he wished, his Roman acquaintances (of which he never had a lack throughout his long life) for some sort of information or another. Posidonius, on his part, would have freely interpreted, rearranged and presented the available material through his own philosophical and literary filters. How much, on the other hand, Diodorus himself was responsible for the final shape of the narrative is difficult to assess. Besides adding an opening phrase of his own to the account of the first war, Diodorus certainly rephrased, or 'smoothed out', the overall lexical and stylistic features of the Posidonian material in accordance with his own preferences - both of which are his normal practice in other parts of the 'Posidonian narrative' and beyond. The Sicilian elements in the narrative, such as the two folkloric anecdotes, may come from Posidonius if his supposed visit to Sicily during his Grand Tour (see above) actually took place. On the other hand, there is nothing that intrinsically prevents us from suggesting that Diodorus could have added this material from local Sicilian traditions already familiar to him; it is noticeable that Enna, the epicentre of the First Slave War, was only twenty miles away from Agyrum, Diodorus' birthplace, on which he had indeed something to tell from his own knowledge (4.24.1-6; 80.3-6). In this process of modification, furthermore, he may even have exaggerated the Italian elements in describing the conditions of Sicily on the eve of the First Slave War.

However, that is not to say that Diodorus altered or distorted the contents and fundamental themes underlying the original Posidonian narrative. He must have approved of the larger part of what the *Histories* offered to him concerning the Sicilian Slave Wars, and gladly made use of it. Posidonius' account, after all, was probably the most extensive source for the two slave wars available at that time, either in Greek or in Latin, to a historian who was determined not to overlook anything that had taken place in his native island. However, the Posidonian narrative of the slave

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the psychological effect of a mistakenly chosen leader on the people he has seduced, as he used the Peripatetic philosopher Athenion for the same purpose (F253 EK). It was of course up to Posidonius to decide whether to accept the already biased material at his disposal and how to present it. For Posidonius' use of the Athenion episode as a historical application of his psychological theory, see Hahm (1989), pp. 1327-1347; on the basis of the methodological affinities between this episode and the Diodoran account of the First Slave War, the same scholar is rightly prepared to ascribe the latter to Posidonius (p. 1347 n. 38).



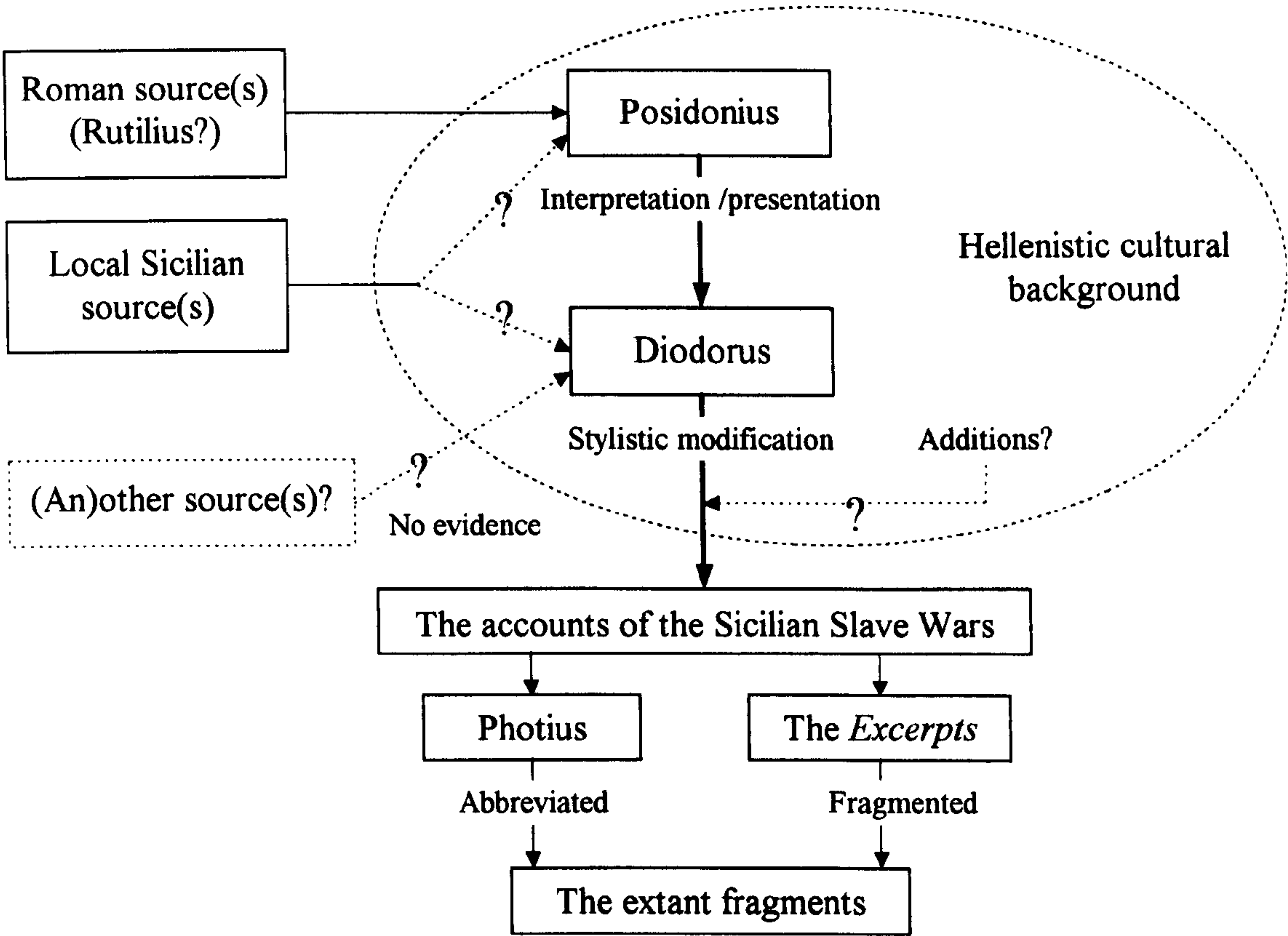
wars also prompted Diodorus, for the first time in his work, to incorporate one - largely neglected - form of human existence in his time into his universal model of φιλανθρωπία and ἐπιείκεια (see above), namely, slavery. This seems to indicate that he discovered more in Posidonius than the simple value as a source of facts. When he came to read the Posidonian account of the slave wars, he probably soon recognised that there lay behind it ideas that chimed in with those that had given his whole literary undertaking its own spiritual framework - κοινὸς βίος (1.1.1) and συγγένεια (1.1.3), the unity and familial bond of all mankind. These were ideas which he shared with Posidonius as part of the common intellectual environment of the Hellenistic world, and which had been developed within the sphere of one of the most important intellectual forces in that world, Stoicism.<sup>64</sup>

The following table sums up all the possible channels of information suggested, with varying degrees of likelihood, in connexion with the accounts of the Sicilian Slave Wars:

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<sup>64</sup> See Oldfather (1933), pp. xii-xiii; Strogetsky (1982), pp. 101f.

TABLE 4: THE TRANSMISSION OF THE MATERIAL FOR DIODORUS' ACCOUNTS OF THE SLAVE WARS



In the light of the discussions in previous chapters, I would suggest that one could plausibly posit analogous routes for the information on many other events recounted in the ‘Posidonian narrative’ in the *Bibliothēke*, such as the Social War.



## CHAPTER VI

# Postposidoniana

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**W**e know that Diodorus used Posidonius' *Histories* as the principal source for his historical narrative for the period after 146/5. However, we do not know at what point Diodorus' Posidonian material ran out and he had to switch to another source. This involves a far more complicated story, as there has never been any agreement on the point at which Posidonius himself chose to conclude his narrative of the *Histories*. In order, therefore, to delimit the boundaries between the 'Posidonian narrative' - i.e. when Diodorus was still following Posidonius - and the 'post-Posidonian narrative' - i.e., when he was not -, we must begin with the question of the terminal point in Posidonius' work. In the course of my discussion I shall demonstrate not only when, but also how, Posidonius is likely to have concluded his narrative, as well as what episodes he appears to have included in his closing chapters.

### 1. WHEN DID POSIDONIUS FINISH HIS *HISTORIES*?

The unfortunate fact that none of the Posidonian *testimonia* or fragments appears to mark the *definitive* end of the work has caused extensive controversies among scholars. Not surprisingly, these arguments, with one sort of reasoning or another, have led to diverse suggestions for the terminal date, ranging from as early as 88 to as late as 44 BC - when Posidonius himself was probably already dead (see below). That is not to say, however, that there is no clue at all among the attested fragments of Posidonius that helps to fix when his work actually terminated. One of the 'Posidonian' entries of the *Suda*, for example, characterises the *Histories* as ἱστορίαν τὴν μετὰ Πολύβιον ἐν βιβλίοις νβ̄ ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου (T1a EK). Yet the editor of the *Suda*, perhaps having relied solely on a secondary literature, wrongly attributes this work to Posidonius of Alexandria, and thus the whole information contained has been deemed somewhat unreliable. It nevertheless should not be doubted that the ἱστορία ἡ μετὰ Πολύβιον in fact refers

to the work of the Apamean.<sup>1</sup> That the Suda's figure of fifty-two as the total number of books of the *Histories* was at least close to the truth can be confirmed by an Athenaean fragment of Posidonius, which is assigned to Bk. 49 (F78 EK); this is the last book referred to by Athenaeus, the only author who occasionally quotes the *Histories* by original book numbers. The Posidonian context of the fragment was in all probability the notorious *repetundae* trial of Rutilius Rufus in 92 BC.<sup>2</sup> Finally, the last datable fragment, again from Athenaeus but with no book number indicated, points to an incident that took place during the First Mithridatic War, the enslavement of the Chians by the King in 86 (F51 EK). If the Suda's *testimonium* of the book number is to be believed, and if Bk. 49 contained an episode of the year 92, it is highly unlikely that the *Histories* went much beyond the mid-80s. Of course, one must not forget that the formula of 'a book per year' was only approximately applicable to Posidonius' work.<sup>3</sup> Yet it has further been pointed out that Athenaeus no longer quotes Posidonius after 86, but (in chronological terms) immediately switches to Nicolaus, a continuator of Posidonius, for the First Mithridatic War. Curiously, Athenaeus' authority for the latest datable fragment of Posidonius is not only the philosopher himself but also includes Nicolaus (F51 EK).<sup>4</sup>

Therefore, in view of these indications within the attested fragments - dim though they are, admittedly - any date later than 86/5 would hardly be sustainable. In fact, most commentators on Posidonius seem to agree at least upon that point, although they have yet to agree on specifying the actual year of the termination which wavers between 88 (the beginning of the Civil Wars), 86 (the death of Marius and the fall of Athens) and 85 (the peace of Dardanus).<sup>5</sup> It is not my intention, and in any case

<sup>1</sup> See the discussion in Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.4-6. For the interpretation of ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου, see below, note 43.

<sup>2</sup> See Chap. 2, p. 49; Chap. 3, p. 80.

<sup>3</sup> See the discussion in Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 80. However Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 155, rightly casts doubt on the assumption that Posidonius, on the Polybian model of 'two years per book', adopted such a rigorously annalistic scheme. As will be seen below, the extant tradition of Posidonius strongly indicates that his arrangement of the material tended to be κατὰ γένος rather than strictly κατὰ χρόνον.

<sup>4</sup> Malitz (1983), pp. 60 and 70f.; Ruschenbusch (1993), pp. 72f. Ruschenbusch further suggests that Posidonius made this remark on the Chian enslavement at the year 88, when he believes the work finished off, in anticipation of the actual event which took place in 86 BC; cf. App. *Mithr.* 25 and 46.

<sup>5</sup> See Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 156-7; Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.277ff.; Malitz (1983), pp. 63 & 69ff.; cf. also Spoerri (1991), p. 316 n. 20. The year 88 is suggested by Ruschenbusch (1993); 86 by



it is not essential, to plump for one year or another, among those listed above, as the exact terminal point of the *Histories*. The problem rather lies in the fact that several others have been tempted to bring the end of the work further - and further - down, proposing such varying dates as 82, 79, 63 or 59.<sup>6</sup>

The opinion which favours 82 or 79 as the terminus of Posidonius' work has often been vaguely accepted simply because one year saw the end of the Civil War between Sulla and the younger Marius, and the other the end of the *regnum Sullanum*. As I shall point out below, the indications are that Posidonius actually did mention some episodes as far down as the year 82 (though less likely 79). However, it by no means follows that this was the 'formal' end-date of the *Histories*. One cannot neglect those few signs from the attested fragments in the above, which strongly suggest 88-85 for that instead. Of course, Posidonius need not have excluded references to incidents after that date, all the more so since the *Histories* do not seem to have been rigorously 'annalistic' in its scheme. In fact quite a few of the attested fragments, notably those concerning two Marcelli, the conqueror of Syracuse (FF 257-261 EK) and the consul of 152 (F271 EK), the first of whom apparently appeared in several different contexts, show us that he could often step over the 'formal' boundaries of the *Histories*.<sup>7</sup> As has been suggested in previous chapters, furthermore, Posidonius probably arranged his material in broadly chronological order, yet at the same time flexibly employed a κατὰ γένος organisation as occasions arose. Therefore at least theoretically, and probably in practice too, such an economy of the work would have enabled Posidonius to cover, say, a process of events that had already begun before or within his 'formal' end-date, but continued further, by including its entirety in summarised form. That is why Posidonius probably saw fit to

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Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 79, and Malitz (1983), pp. 37 and 70; 85 by Reinhardt, *RE Poseidonios*, col. 630, and Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 156.

<sup>6</sup> 82/79 - Mazzarino (1966), p. 411; Desideri (1972), pp. 481f.; *OCD*<sup>2</sup>, s. v. 'Posidonius'; 63/59 - Strasburger (1965), pp. 42 & 44; followed by Verbrugghe (1975), p. 203 n. 29; Rawson (1985), p. 226.

<sup>7</sup> It has also been suggested that these fragments on M. Claudius Marcellus were originally part of an independent monograph on the sacker of Syracuse; cf. F86e EK (Περὶ Μαρκέλλου Ἱστορία). Malitz (1983), pp. 68f. and 361f., on the other hand, favours an excursus on Marcellus within the *Histories*, while not entirely excluding the possibility of a separate treatise. On the whole, the existence of such a work is usually doubted: cf. Reinhardt, *RE*, col. 569; Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 90; Kidd., *Comm.*, 1.346.



go down to 82, since the year marked the final, though precarious, settlement of the internal crises which had broken out in 88 with the struggle over the supreme command against Mithridates. Yet, as we shall see, he did so only in a passing excursus or two that looked forward to the course of events after the formal terminal date sometime between 88-85, while discarding all the other contemporary affairs which he regarded as not directly relevant.

The claim for the year 63 (Pompey's victory in his Eastern campaigns) or 59 (the first consulship of Caesar) as the end-point of the *Histories*, on the other hand, has been conjured up out of a single casual remark from Strabo, who, in his criticism of Posidonius, adds that καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν συνέγραψε τὴν περὶ αὐτόν (sc. τὸν Πομπηϊόν) (F79 EK = T11 FGH). Posidonius' friendship with Pompey as a mentor of philosophy during the latter's Eastern command was well-known (TT 35-39 EK). The conviction that the philosopher published something about Pompey has been further strengthened by supposed 'Posidonian traces' in secondary traditions that concern Pompey's Eastern campaigns - notably his extinction of piracy in the Eastern Mediterranean in 67<sup>8</sup> and the Jewish War in 63.<sup>9</sup> However, even if these

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<sup>8</sup> Strasburger (1965), pp. 42-43 and n. 34 and n. 37, points out several structural similarities between the Posidonian-suspect passages in Diodorus, esp. the account of the First Slave War on the one hand, and the history of the development of Cilician piracy in Strabo, Plutarch's *Pompey* and Appian's *Mithridatika* on the other; on this basis he believes that all these accounts ultimately go back to Posidonius, and even attempts to reconstruct the 'Posidonian account' of piracy (*op. cit.*, pp. 49-51). Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 200-204, following this thesis in every respect, also tries to fit into the same 'Posidonian narrative pattern' the ancient tradition on the Spartacus War (from Plutarch's *Crassus* and Appian's *BC*). Strasburger's view is also shared by Malitz (1983), pp. 134-136 and 164-169, and by Sacks (1990), pp. 150f. However Malitz, *op. cit.*, p. 168, who questions the existence of a Posidonian monograph on Pompey, proposes that the philosopher perhaps mentioned Pompey's victory over pirates in an excursus chronologically anticipated; yet considering the distance of time between what Malitz considers as the latest possible year for the terminal point of the *Histories* (86) and Pompey's campaigns (67), this suggestion is rather unconvincing. For further discussions, see below.

<sup>9</sup> Strabo, in his description of the geography of Judaea, makes a lengthy digression on the history of the Jews, from Moses and the foundation of Jerusalem to Pompey's capture of the city; then he goes on to recount a phenomenon in the Dead Sea, with a reference to Posidonius (16.2.34-45). Jacoby prints the entire section as a 'Posidonian fragment' (F70 FGH). Reinhardt, *RE*, cols. 639ff., thought that the earlier passages on the history of Jerusalem had been taken from Posidonius' account of Pompey's Jewish campaign in the 'History of Pompey'; the argument by Harmatta (1971) starts from more or less the same assumption. Theiler also prints the same passages as a Posidonian fragment (F133), but supposes a different original context on the basis that Posidonius had no chance to narrate the Pompeian war (*Erläut.*, pp. 96f.). However, Edelstein-Kidd, by printing only the Posidonian reference proper in Strabo (16.2.42-43), puts the basis of the whole discussion in question; see also Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.953f.



(unattributed) traditions derive from something Posidonius actually wrote, that itself does not justify the case for his carrying on his *Histories* down to 63 or 59. For one can never tell whether this 'History of Pompey' was part of an extended section of the *Histories* or a separate treatise; even the existence of such writing at all, let alone its contents, is anybody's guess.<sup>10</sup> Strabo's remark is too brief, and Posidonius' works too numerous, to ascribe τὴν ἱστορίαν τὴν περὶ τὸν Πομπηίου specifically to the *Histories*. At any rate, the 'extension theory' runs up against the failure of Athenaeus, fervent reader of the *Histories*, to quote Posidonius for episodes after 86; even a small biographical account of Pompey attached as an appendix to the main body of the work is equally unlikely for the same reason.<sup>11</sup> In fact, it seems that the 63/59 hypothesis has been more induced by the assumption that Diodorus must have solely relied on Posidonius right down till the end of his own *Bibliothēke*, which concluded around those years, rather than by an obscure piece of writing on Pompey.<sup>12</sup> But what little has been left of Diodorus' last three books strongly suggests that he used (an)other source(s) for non-Pompeian episodes in those books, and possibly even for Pompeian ones (see below). Thus this hypothesis is hardly based on any solid 'Posidonian' evidence at all. Yet an independent monograph, or an encomium included in one of Posidonius' other works, still remain a possibility. The question will be taken up again in connexion with Diodorus' accounts of Pompey. Finally, any later date proposed as the end of the *Histories*, such as 51 and 44, is all but far-fetched. I only hope that Posidonius was still alive then.<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The foremost proponent of the 'extension theory' is Strasburger (1965), p. 44, and so is Rawson (1985), p. 106, while Reinhardt, *RE*, cols. 630 and 639f., assumes a *Spezialgeschichte des Pompeius*; followed by Bowersock (1965), pp. 3f. and 122; see the bibliography in Càssola (1982), p. 764 n. 104. Both Jacoby, *Komm.*, pp. 156f., and Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.331ff., on the other hand, discard the possibility of an extension of the *Histories*, and even doubt that there was any Posidonian monograph on Pompey. Malitz (1983), pp. 72ff., suggests that the work, if it ever existed, was not a historical account of Pompey's campaigns but an encomium similar to what Cicero later expected from the philosopher.

<sup>11</sup> Despite a (cautious) suggestion by Malitz (1983), p. 73.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the remarks by Strasburger (1965), pp. 42 and 44.

<sup>13</sup> These alternative dates are enumerated, and appropriately rejected, by Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 156; sources unknown, but they are obviously based on possible dates of Posidonius' death. As for Posidonius' lifetime, neither the year of his birth nor that of his death is known with precision. He was certainly dead by 45 BC at the latest, but 51 BC or sometime soon afterwards has been most widely accepted as the year of his death: cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.4f. and 1.8f.; Reinhardt, *RE*, cols. 563f.; Malitz (1983), pp. 29f.



That is as far as the examination of the attested Posidonian fragments will take us on the extent of his *Histories*. Let us now turn to the question of the boundaries between the 'Posidonian' and 'post-Posidonian' narratives in Diodorus himself. In fact, by tracing the 'Posidonian footprints' in the *Bibliothèque*, we can even gain considerable insight as to which episodes Posidonius covered at the end of his *Histories*, and which he did not. For there are, in my view, a number of indications in Diodoran fragments of a transition from one source, that is Posidonius, to another. The primary evidence for this hypothesis derives from three passages in Bks. 37-38 of the *Bibliothèque*, the first of which appears in Diodorus' account of the Social War in Bk. 37. I have already argued that the conceptual framework and arts of presentation of the Diodoran narrative of the war show striking affinities with attested historical and philosophical fragments of Posidonius, thus overwhelmingly favouring the view that Diodorus' account of the Social War as a whole owes its intellectual nucleus to the philosopher (Chap. 4). It has been pointed out, at the same time, that towards the end of the narrative Diodorus, or rather his source Posidonius, anticipated the entire course of the subsequent Civil Wars down to 82 in summarised form.<sup>14</sup> There is, in addition, a similar anticipation of events in a later passage of Bk. 37, which, while tracing Marius' entire life in retrospect, briefly relates more or less the same course of events during the Civil Wars - that is, his rivalry with Sulla over the eastern command, the subsequent exile, 'reign of terror' at Rome, the struggle of the younger Marius and the murder of Q. Scaevola and other prominent men (37.29). Most of these events are recounted again, in detail and in a more strictly chronological framework (38/9.1-6; 12-18). In the following paragraphs I shall first examine the source question of this fragment on Marius, and subsequently demonstrate what evidence those anticipatory passages can offer to establish when - and how - Posidonius finished his *Histories*.

The treatment of Marius in the *Bibliothèque*, which can be observed for the most part in the narrative covering the turbulent years between 88 to 82, is negative as a whole. It is certainly hazardous to ascribe this bad press automatically to Rutilius Rufus, one of the likeliest sources for Posidonius, and hence to Posidonius, since

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<sup>14</sup> Chap. 4, pp. 99-103.



Rutilius' semi-autobiographical work was not the only source available in Greek for anti-Marian sentiments; the Greek version of Sulla's memoirs would be another candidate for such partisan hostility.<sup>15</sup> However, in my view, two 'biographical' passages on Marius in the *Bibliothèque* particularly point to the presence of Posidonius, at least in content and interpretation. The high likelihood of the Rutilian-Posidonian origin of the first passage concerning Marius' early career and his first emergence during the Jugurthine War (34/5.38) has already been discussed, on the basis, however, of somewhat circumstantial evidence.<sup>16</sup> The second 'biography' of Marius in Bk. 37 (37.29.2-5), on the other hand, carries far more weight to establish our Posidonian hypothesis. The relatively favourable assessment of Marius' earlier achievements in this fragment fits in well with that of the first one, and there is nothing to indicate that Diodorus used different sources for these two accounts. This second fragment, which briefly traces Marius' career from the Jugurthine War onwards (= Section D2 in Table5), was presumably an excursus originally attached to the account of the year 88, when he was seeking the eastern command against Mithridates: 'Marius walked every day to the Campus Martius and practised military exercises, for he was anxious to correct the weakness and slowness of old age...' (37.29.1 = D1).<sup>17</sup> The narrative, carrying on in fact beyond events of 88, sums up the whole process leading down to his return from exile in 87 and seventh consulship in the following year. Then comes his anguished death:

'(Marius) dared no longer tempt Fortune since he had learned her fickleness from his great reverses (οὐκ ἐτόλμησεν ἔτι τῆς τύχης λαβεῖν πείραν, δεδιδαγμένος περὶ τῆς κατ' αὐτὴν ἀβεβαιότητος μεγάλοις συμπτώμασι) ... foreseeing that an attack by Sulla was impending upon Rome, he departed from life of his own will (μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐκουσῶς)' (D3).

<sup>15</sup> Cf. F4 (Peter) for the explicit criticism of Marius by Rutilius, his arch-rival and friend of the Metelli. The ultimately Rutilian origin of those anti-Marian passages in the *Bibliothèque* has been suggested by Lewis, (R) pp. 86-88; Malitz (1983) pp. 394ff.; Càssola (1982), pp. 766f. For Sulla's autobiography and its possible traces in Diodorus, see Chap. 4, pp. 120f. and below.

<sup>16</sup> Chap. 3, pp. 90f.

<sup>17</sup> If we follow the standard arrangement in the *Loeb* edition, which associates the present fragment (37.29.2) with D1, an excerpt from the *De sent.* (37.29.1) that certainly refers to his ambitious contest for the Mithridatic command in 88 (cf. Plut. *Mar.* 34.5-6 = P1 in Table5). This arrangement, originally by Dindorf, has been generally accepted; Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 188; Malitz (1983), p. 401; Ruschenbusch (1993), p. 71.

The reason why these passages have particularly mattered to Posidonian scholarship is the fact that Plutarch offers two reports comparable, if not always parallel, to those of Diodorus. The earlier section is a fuller account of Marius' absurd propaganda war in his bid for the Mithridatic command in the year 88, in language more or less close to that of Diodorus; yet its pathetic-sarcastic tone is even more heightened (*Mar.* 34.5-6 = Section P1 in Table5). The latter deals with those last days of Marius, in which context the name of Posidonius does indeed occur (*Mar.* 45.3-12). However Plutarch's version, unlike Diodorus', is faithful to the real chronology, coming only after a full, continuous narrative of Marius' perilous and bloody adventures between 88 and 86; namely, the account of his attempt to transfer the Mithridatic command from Sulla to himself through the tribune Sulpicius; the occupation of Rome by Sulla's army, and Marius' escape to Africa; and after Sulla's departure to the East, his return to Rome with the army of Cinna in 87, followed by the subsequent 'reign of terror' - the alleged massacre by the Marians of opponents, potential opponents and anybody else. Then comes the agony-ridden death of Marius, at the beginning of his seventh consulship in 86. The passage in question runs as follows: late in the year 87, in the midst of the massacre of citizens, reports arrived that Sulla had settled his campaign against Mithridates and was now on the way back home; yet Marius, prostrated with anxieties and terrors of facing a new war with Sulla, fell victim to insomnia, heavy drinking and eventually illness (P2). At this point Posidonius is mentioned as a direct eyewitness of Marius' illness, which the philosopher identifies as pleurisy (P3). Plutarch, however, refers to Posidonius only for this piece of information and immediately switches his source to a certain C. Piso, who reports on Marius' confessed mistrust of Fortune (οὐκ ... ἔτι τῇ τύχῃ πιστεύειν ἑαυτόν) and death in bed a week later (P4). In addition to this Piso, Plutarch also cites some anonymous sources (τινὲς δὲ ... φασιν), possibly no more than a rumour, for Marius falling into a delirium in his illness (P5).



TABLE5: THE DEATH OF MARIUS IN DIODORUS AND PLUTARCH, *MARIUS*

Diodorus Bk. 37

29.1 ( <i>De sent.</i> )	
D1	ὁ Μάριος εἰς τὸν κάμπον καθ' ἡμέραν βαδίζων ἐγυμνάζετο πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ χρείας: ἔσπευδε γάρ τὴν τοῦ γήραος ἀσθένειαν καὶ βραδυτῆτα τῇ καθ' ἡμέραν ἀθλήσει καὶ φιλοπονία πρὸς τοῦναντίον διορθώσασθαι (88)
29.2-5 ( <i>De. virt.</i> )	
D2	A sweeping judgement of Marius' achievements: his better days during the Jugurthine War and the campaigns against the Cimbri; gradual moral decline through the course of the struggle with Sulla, subsequent exile (88) and return to Rome in support of Cinna (87)
D3	Marius' seventh consulship; despair at the fickleness of Fortune; fear of an imminent return of Sulla; death (suicide?) (86)
D4	A summary of the fate of the Marians in the Civil War 83-2: the death of the younger Marius; slaughter of men of the senatorial rank by both parties

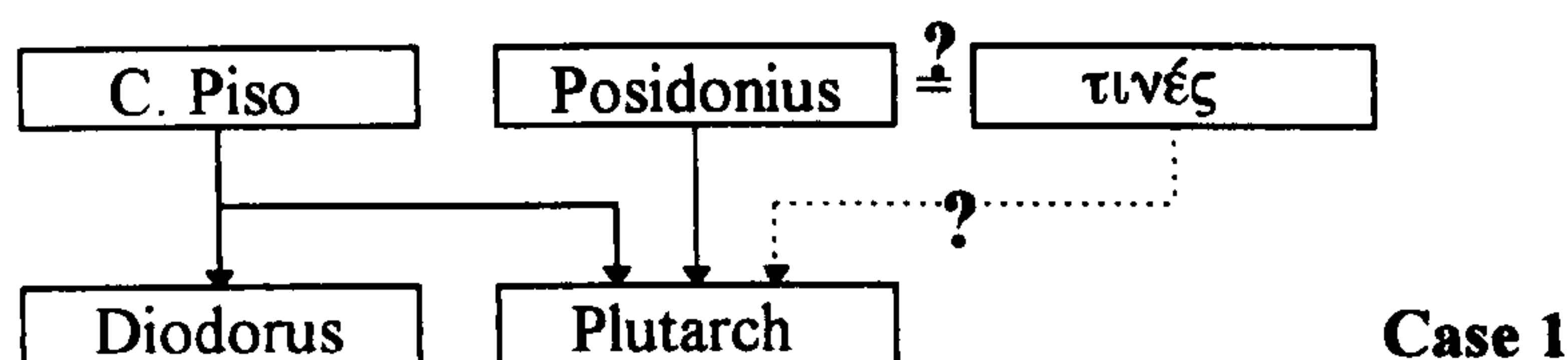
Plutarch *Marius*

34.5-6	
P1	(No authority given) οὐ ἀλλὰ Μάριος φιλοτίμως πάνυ καὶ μεираκιωδῶς ἀποτρεβόμενος τὸ γῆραος καὶ τὴν ἀσθένειαν ὁσημέραι κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον, καὶ μετὰ τῶν νεανίσκων γυμναζόμενος ἐπεδείκνυε τὸ σῶμα κοῦφον μὲν ὅπλοις ... (88)
45.3-12	
P2	(No authority given) Reports of an imminent return of Sulla; Marius' seventh consulship; his fear and terror of a renewed struggle with Sulla; insomnia and heavy-drinking (86)
P3	Fears spurred by a message from the sea finally throw Marius 'into pleurisy, as Posidonius the philosopher relates, saying that he himself went in and conversed with Marius ... who was already ill (during his Rhodian mission to Rome)'
P4	'A certain Gaius Piso, a historian, relates' that one night Marius, rambling about the frequent vicissitudes of his life, gave his opinion that a man of sense would no longer entrust himself to Fortune, took to his bed and died a week later
P5	<i>Anonymous</i> (τινὲς δὲ) testimony on Marius' delusion in his illness, delirious cries and calls to battle as if he were in command in the Mithridatic War

Section D1 closely resembles P1, and D3 appears much like a précis of P2 and P4 combined. However, Plutarch does not name the source of information - which he must have used - for either P1 or P2, while crediting P4 not to Posidonius but to an otherwise unknown historian C. Piso. The obvious analogies between Diodorus and Plutarch on the one hand, and the uncertainties arising chiefly from Plutarch's ever elusive handling of sources on the other, make it difficult to decide how far to extend either forwards or backwards a 'citation' of Posidonius beyond the citation proper, and where to delimit it; and, by extension, whether the Diodoran material also derives from the same Posidonian source. The three modern editors of Posidonian fragments took altogether diverse choices as to what to glean from Plutarch as their respective

'Posidonian' fragments: Jacoby includes the whole of P2-5 (= F37 *FGH*); the frugal Edelstein-Kidd restricts itself to printing only P2-3 (= F255 EK); Theiler prints D1 (= F241 Theiler), P2-3 and P5 (= F249 Theiler), while jumping over P4.<sup>18</sup> As for the *Quellenverhältnis* between Posidonius, Plutarch and Diodorus, there have been endless arguments and counter-arguments, which, for all their variations, more or less boil down to three basic cases:

Case 1 - The Diodoran version is dependent, whether directly or indirectly, not on Posidonius but on C. Piso, another historian cited by Plutarch. The primary ground for this contention is a supposed discrepancy in the respective descriptions of the manner of Marius' death: while Posidonius personally knew Marius' pleurisy, which presumably was the cause of his death (P3), Diodorus' account (D3) seems to hint at suicide (μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐκουσίως). Furthermore, the theory goes, both D3 and P4 (the report attributed to Piso) speak of Marius' despair at the fickleness of Fortune, and nothing of his illness; therefore Diodorus' passage shows far closer affinities with the Pisonian tradition, thus constituting together a sort of 'rival version' to that of Posidonius.<sup>19</sup>



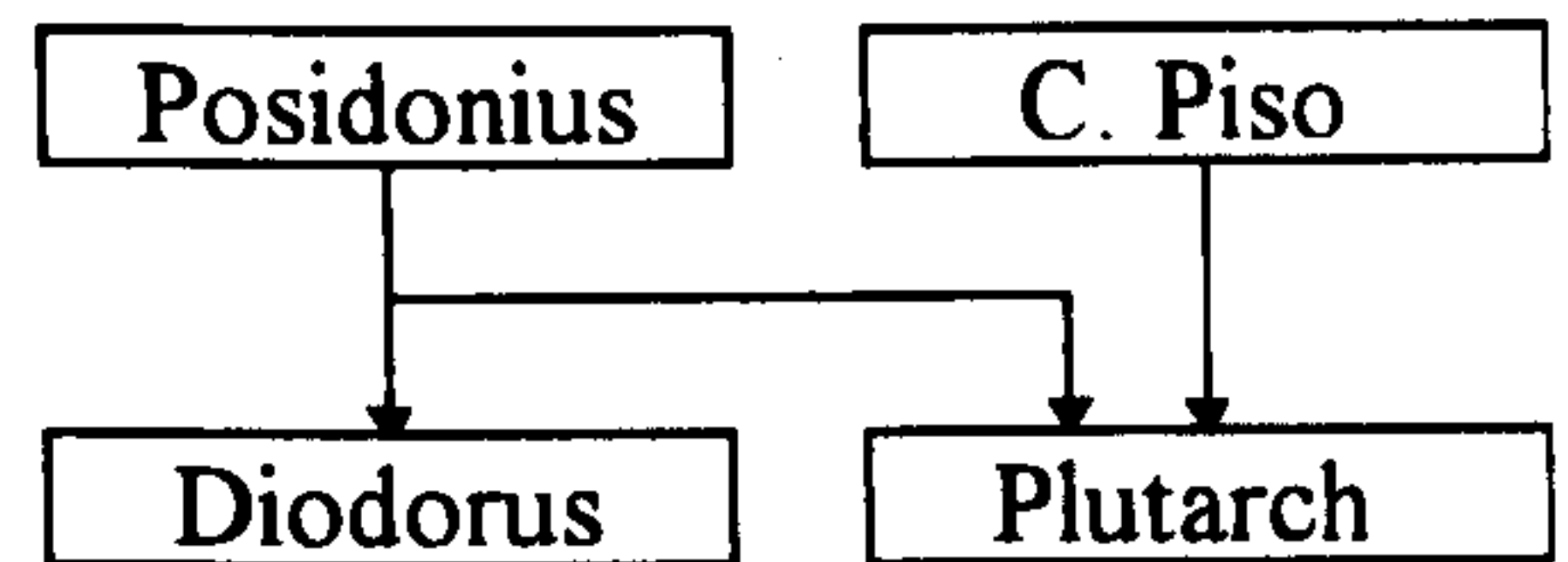
Case 2 - Just about the reverse of Case 1, and a good example of how one can argue for a diametrically opposite case on the same evidence. The thesis is based on the finding that among ancient sources only Diodorus (D3) and Plutarch (P2) attribute

<sup>18</sup> Both Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 188 and Theiler, *Erläut.*, p.129, think that P1, together with the parallel D1, derives from Posidonius, but they fall short of counting it as a 'Posidonian fragment'; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.890f., on the other hand, leaves open the question of the extent to which, if at all, P2 was based on Posidonius (though printed as part of F255 EK); see below.

<sup>19</sup> This thesis was first put forward by Schwartz, *RE*, cols. 690-691; it has been basically followed by Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.892f., and Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 130: 'es ist aber kaum denkbar, daß Poseidonios, der den Marius schon während seiner Krankheit besucht hat, die offenbar falsche Freitodversion bekannt machte'. Both Schwartz and Theiler, *loc. cit.*, attribute Diodorus' supposed change of sources to the immediate termination of Posidonius' *Histories* around this point. Carney (1958), p. 119, whose study concerns solely Plutarch' account, maintains that it was Plutarch himself who combined three different traditions (i.e., Posidonius, Piso and τινές).



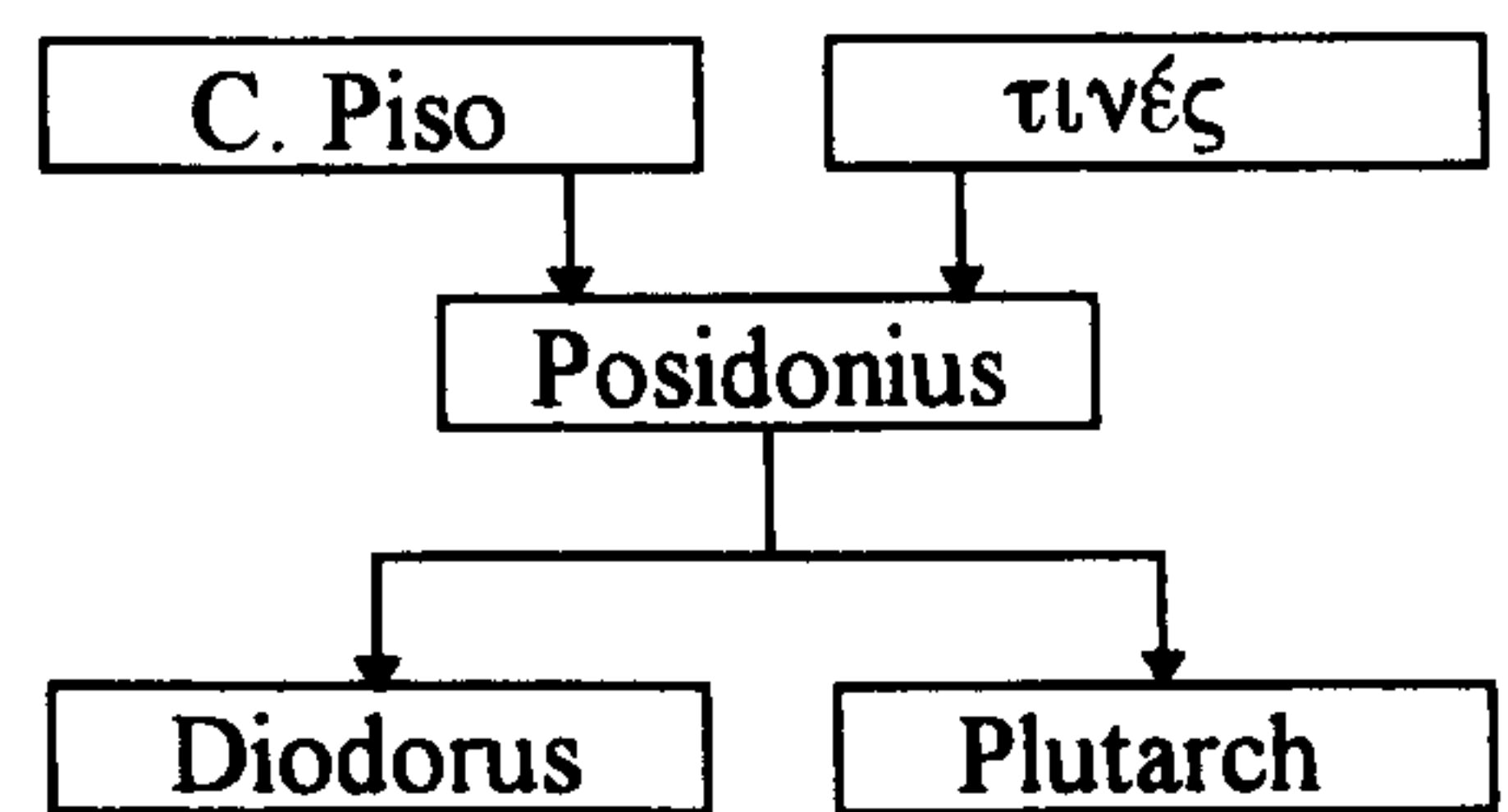
the ultimate cause of Marius' death to his incessant terror of an immediate return of Sulla. Such a prospect as early as 86 (three years before Sulla's actual return) is nowhere in Piso's report, in which Marius dies a rather quiet death (P4). The



Case 2

Diodoran version, therefore, goes back to Posidonius, who was probably opposed to a tradition presented by Piso. Diodorus' (alleged) presentation of Marius' death as suicide is perhaps due to the misleading phrasing of the excerpt.<sup>20</sup>

Case 3 - represents the simplest explanation. That is, Plutarch, after all, found both Pisonian (P4) and anonymous (P5) citations already in Posidonius' narrative. Diodorus, too, drew the same Pisonian report from Posidonius, and interpreted its presentation of Marius' death, rightly or wrongly, as indicating suicide.<sup>21</sup>



Case 3

Weighing each one of these cases against the others, I believe that the truth stands somewhere between Case 2 and Case 3. To explain why, let us make some points first. Both Case 2 and Case 3 point out a theme unique to Diodorus (D2) and Plutarch (P2), that is, Marius' premature apprehension at the prospect of the return of Sulla. This is indeed an interesting point, since any expectation of Sulla's finishing the Mithridatic War and returning home as early as 86 (i.e., three years before his actual return) would certainly have been absurd, and for an author to suggest that would be an outright anachronism.<sup>22</sup> Quite reasonably, no other source attests such a fear on the part of Marius at this stage, thus indicating the presence of a common source in Plutarch and Diodorus.<sup>23</sup> Only Appian (*BC* 1.75) vaguely speaks of Marius as

<sup>20</sup> Mazzarino (1966), pp. 409f.; followed by Càssola (1982), p. 768.

<sup>21</sup> To my knowledge Case 3 was first proposed by Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 189; also Ruschenbusch (1993), p. 75; Malitz (1983), pp. 395, 401 n. 360 and 404, suggests Diodorus' abridgement or simplification of the Posidonian original.

<sup>22</sup> As correctly pointed out by Carney (1958), pp. 118f., who regards 'the whole psychological reaction being based upon this anachronism' as 'quite worthless'; cf. also Malitz (1983), p. 404; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.890f.

<sup>23</sup> One wonders what to do with the arrant fallacy in Memnon (*FGH* 3B.434), 25.3, 'Σύλλας μὲν οὖν οὕτω λαμπρῶς εἰς τὴν Ἰταλίαν ἀφίκετο, καὶ Μάριος αὐθις τῆς πόλεως ὑπεχώρησε'; ought this rather to be attributed to Photius when he was epitomising Memnon's

‘planning many terrible actions against Sulla (πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ ἐς Σύλλαν ἐπινοῶν)’ at the point of his death in 86, but the preceding chapters strongly suggest that at the core of those passages of Appian lies, ultimately, the same source which Plutarch used. The remaining problem is that Plutarch does not attribute this portion of his text to any authority, and its style has in fact been recognised as that of Plutarch himself.<sup>24</sup> However, it has also been well demonstrated that its content, highlighting a complex psychological process and interaction between body and soul inside Marius, shows a close correspondence with many of Posidonius’ fragments on the cause of emotions.<sup>25</sup> Particularly noteworthy is the finding of perfect agreement between the hexameter line which Marius heard repeated in his nightmares, ‘δειναὶ γὰρ κοῖται καὶ ἀποικοιμένοις λέοντος’, and one of those philosophical fragments, in which Posidonius indeed employs, though in prose, the same allegory of a lion to expound the power of mental images that causes fear: ‘Thus ... some people, given a vivid command to flee, are terrified by the attacking lion they have not seen (ἐναργῶς ἐγκελευσαμένου φεύγειν τὸν ἐπιφερόμενον λέοντα οὐκ ἰδόντες φοβοῦνται)’ (F162 EK).<sup>26</sup> This fact all but clinches the thesis that P2 owes its intellectual nucleus to Posidonius, who is known to have often experimented in his historical writing with theories derived from his philosophical investigations.

Secondly, a straightforward reading of the passages in question soon makes clear that the Posidonian citation in Plutarch (P3) does not contradict, as Case 1 claims, Diodorus’ account of Marius’ death (D3), because all we can read from Plutarch’s text is that Posidonius saw Marius on his sickbed when he visited him in 86, but not at the moment of his death. In fact, the Plutarchian passage (P2-3, P4 and P5) seems to present not three conflicting traditions, but merely different phases of the same process that eventually led to Marius’ death: starting from Marius’ fear of Sulla and resultant insomnia (P2), Plutarch then quotes Posidonius for pleurisy (P3),

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work? A similar confusion of the two Marii also arises from passages of Julius Exuperantius (4 and 7).

<sup>24</sup> Russell (1973), p. 132; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.889.

<sup>25</sup> They chiefly derive from Posidonius’ treatise *Περὶ παθῶν*. See the fine analysis of his psychological theory by Hahm (1989), pp. 1332-1335 and 1353-1357, much of which is based on this P2; cf. also Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.890f.

<sup>26</sup> Hahm (1989), p. 1355.



Gaius Piso for his maunderings about τύχη and death (P4), and finally anonymous sources for delirium (P5). The last part is the picture of Marius deluded on his sickbed into believing that he held the command against Mithridates. Although the passage is attributed to some unidentified sources (τινές), it is very probable that Plutarch found it already in Posidonius. This fascinatingly vivid description, with Marius overwhelmed by the irrational power of ambition and greed, perfectly fits in not only with Posidonius' theory on emotions, but also with sections P2-3, which already reports his nightmares (νυκτερινὰ δέσματα καὶ ταραχώδεις ὄνειρους) and illness. And still more significantly, this passage can find a better context in Diodorus than where it stands now in Plutarch: for in Diodorus, unlike in Plutarch, Marius' death was recounted in the context of the year 88, when he was still ambitiously attempting to obtain the command of the Mithridatic War (D1). This strongly suggests that Posidonius, on the authority of τινές, had painted this ghastly scene in the same historical context.<sup>27</sup>

The provenance of Plutarch's citation of C. Piso (P4) poses a somewhat more complex question. One possibility is that Posidonius had already cited in his work a testimony from Piso for the very last days of Marius. By assuming that Plutarch in fact transmitted Piso through Posidonius, we can perhaps explain why Diodorus' narrative shares some similar motifs (fear, Fortune etc.) both with P2 (Posidonian, as demonstrated) and with P4 (Pisonian). Even if this hypothetical Pisonian work was written in Latin, of which Posidonius is not known to have had any knowledge, that by itself would have mattered little: an interpreter was always available, then as well as now.<sup>28</sup> Throughout his extant works Plutarch cites C. Piso only here, and his is the only reference to this obscure ἀνὴρ ἱστορικὸς among the ancient sources (= F1 Peter). Certainly Plutarch was a widely read man, but probably not as widely as his numerous - some seven thousand (!) by one estimate - citations from other authors

<sup>27</sup> Marius in this scene, as in P2, certainly served as the archetype of the two irrational forces of the soul, τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν (desiring) and τὸ θυμοειδές (passionate), as opposed to the rational τὸ λογιστικόν, in the Posidonian theory of emotion: see FF 32, 160 and 169 EK; cf. also Bringmann (1986), pp. 37f. and 46; Hahm (1989).

<sup>28</sup> If, as has been suggested by Mazzarino (1966), p. 410, and Malitz (1983), p. 405 n. 386, this Piso was indeed C. Calpurnius Piso, an Optimate consul of 67 (see Broughton, *MRR*, 2.142f.), the work should, at least from a chronological point of view, have been accessible to Posidonius.

might lead one to think. He could, of course, simply recall from his earlier readings, and perhaps the ancients were better drilled in memorising than we are; yet it should also be noted that reading was then a painfully slow process, since it involved not thumbing through a book with neat page numbers but unrolling metres of a papyrus scroll.<sup>29</sup>

However, it is equally possible that Plutarch had actually read Piso, who may have been one of the unknown historians of the imperial period, and is citing him quite independently of Posidonius. For Piso's report in Plutarch, with its colourless expression τελευτῆσαι, seems to contrast strongly with Marius' excruciating death as presented both by the non-Pisonian part of Plutarch's narrative and, despite the claim of Case 1, by Diodorus, who seems to hint at suicide. In fact, there is a strong contrast among sources on the actual manner of Marius' death, that is, between a death full of anxieties and pains, and a quiet one. The former is represented by Diodorus, Plutarch's anonymous source and, curiously, a minor tradition in Ps.-Victor, who, like Diodorus, actually says that some believed that Marius' death was suicide (Auct. Vir. Ill. 67.6: *ut quidam ferunt, voluntaria morte decessit*); and possibly Velleius too, who explicitly attributes the cause of his death to a disease (2.23.1). The latter, a quiet death, is illustrated by Livy (Per. 80), Orosius (5.19.23), Appian (BC 1.75), and in particular by Cicero, who wonders *cur enim Marius tam feliciter ... domi suae senex est mortuus* (ND 3.81).<sup>30</sup> Even Diodorus' remark on the manner of Marius' death, that μετέστησεν ἑαυτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἐκουσίως, may not necessarily be due to a misunderstanding or misrepresentation on the part of our historian. Posidonius could well have suggested it, in order to enhance his picture of an anguished death. The fact that Ps.-Victor also reports Marius' possible suicide indicates that there was at least such a rumour.

<sup>29</sup> See Brunt (1980), pp. 479f., on Plutarch's reliance on his own memory from past reading rather than on direct use of his 'sources'. For the extent of Plutarch's use of second-hand material, see Russell (1973), pp. 46ff.; his use of sources for his Roman Lives, *ibid.*, pp. 54ff.; for the difficulty of establishing what comes from Plutarch's own primary reading and what does not, see the discussion in Hamilton (1969), pp. xlix-lji, which however does not directly answer the question of his handling of sources in general.

<sup>30</sup> Cf. Gabba, *App. BC I*, 75.346. Livy, Orosius and Appian provide no specific reason, but by doing so, imply that there was nothing unusual - such as suicide - in the manner of Marius' death.



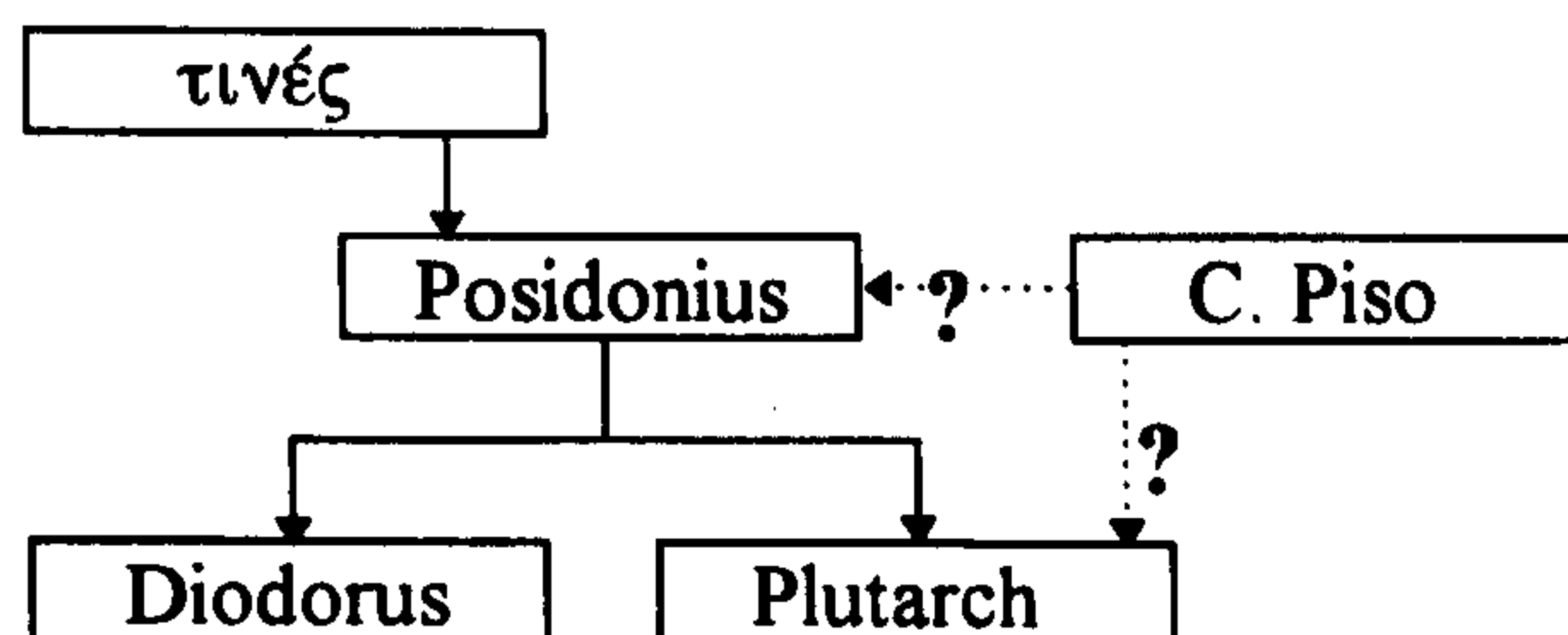
Diodorus' version, it is true, lacks all the niceties of the Posidonian psychology that are present in Plutarch, bar the Pisonian citation, owing either to some contraction by the historian and/or by the Constantinian excerptor, or to the embroidering of the Posidonian original by Plutarch or, perhaps, owing to all three causes.<sup>31</sup> Yet a passage from the *De sent.* that certainly belonged to the same context of Marius' bid for the Mithridatic command, shows a possible sign of the Posidonian philosophy (37.30). The fragment consists of a digressional remark on the evil effects of wealth accompanied by quotations from poets. Diodorus says: 'Wealth, for which people fight, at times brings great calamities upon those who seek it. For it impels men to ignoble and lawless deeds, indulges them in every excessive pleasure, and takes fools by the hand towards mean conduct (προτρεπόμενος γὰρ εἰς ἀδύλους καὶ παρανόμους πράξεις, καὶ χορηγὸς γινόμενος πάσης ἀκρατοῦς ἡδονῆς, τοὺς ἄφρονας χειραγωγεῖ πρὸς τὰ φαῦλα τῶν ἔργων) ... such a power for evil does gold possess, which people blindly honour above all.' According to Seneca, Posidonius considered wealth to be a *causa praecedens* of evil, inasmuch as wealth, although itself morally indifferent, goads men on to do evil: *divitias esse causam malorum, non quia ipsae faciunt aliquid, sed quia facturos irritant* (F170 EK). For the effects of wealth are, he continues, to 'inflate the soul, create arrogance, cause envy and take the mind away as far as a reputation of having money, harmful though it will be, delights us.'<sup>32</sup> Hence it looks as if Diodorus may be echoing what Seneca rendered into Latin from Posidonius, and it is all the more tempting to ascribe the above Diodoran passage to the philosopher. But this hypothesis is far from being proved. For one thing, Diodorus himself was obsessed with the vice of avarice

<sup>31</sup> On the excerptors' occasional contraction (rather than extraction) of the original text, see Chap. 1, pp. 15f. Plutarch, for his part, certainly rephrased the whole passage in his own fashion (see the note above). It may well be that Diodorus did the same: here and there in the passage on Marius is Diodoran moral vocabulary such as παρανόμως, πλεονεξία and μαιφονέω (for the occurrence of these words throughout the *Bibliothēke*, see Chap. 2, p. 57 and Chap. 4, pp. 138f.

<sup>32</sup> '... inflant animos, superbiam pariunt, invidiam contrahunt, et usque eo mentem alienant ut fama pecuniae nos etiam nocitura delectet.' For Posidonius' concept of the *causa praecedens* (or *antecedens*), as opposed to the *causa efficiens*, see Bringmann (1986), pp. 39f.; Hahn (1989), pp. 1351f. The testimonies allegedly attributed to Posidonius in FF171-172 EK directly contradict with his argument quoted by Seneca, but the authenticity of these testimonies was rejected by Kidd, *Comm.*, 2. 639-642.

throughout his work.<sup>33</sup> It is also possible, therefore, that our historian, inspired by a hint at Marius' excessive greed in Posidonius, saw fit to expand the theme, being no less fond of moralistic arguments than Plutarch.

To summarise, in view of all the considerations outlined above, the most economical interpretation is that, behind Diodorus and what looks like a conflation of several sources by Plutarch, there lies a common source which emphasised the bitterness and agony of Marius' death, even at the risk of an anachronism, and that this source was Posidonius. With this interpretation we can better explain, without presupposing a complex mosaic of sources in either of the two authors, why most of the elements in Diodorus are also present in Plutarch, although Plutarch cites several sources for some of these elements and leaves others un-attributed (see the table).



Now the reason why this conclusion matters for the central point of the argument, the question of the terminus of the *Histories*, is that it clearly shows that Posidonius recounted Marius' death not in the context of the year 86, when he actually died, but as an anticipatory excursus in the context of 88. Moreover, the Diodoran narrative, in exactly the same way as the closing section of his account of the Social War does, ends with a further glance forward to the subsequent course of events as far down as the year 82 and a hint at the coming Sullan dictatorship. Below is a full quotation of the passage in question (D4):

‘Having left great seeds of conflicts behind him, he (sc. Marius) became the agent of utmost misfortunes<sup>34</sup> for both his son and his country. For his son, forced to fight with stronger forces, fled into a tunnel and haplessly brought his life to an end, while those at Rome and in the Italian cities plunged into a long

<sup>33</sup> To give an indication, *πλεονεξία* and its cognate words occur eighty times throughout the *Bibliothèque*; *ἐπιθυμία* forty-one times; *φιλαργυρία* ten times (TLG). Malitz (1983), pp. 402f., however, attributes this fragment to Posidonius without hesitation.

<sup>34</sup> *ἀκλήρημα* is a very rare word. A TLG search shows that it is not attested by any other classical author except Diodorus. All the other (very few) occurrences are in Byzantine anthologies. Of the twenty-two instances of the word in the *Bibliothèque*, five come from complete texts and seventeen from fragments preserved by the Constantinian excerptors and Photius (TLG). Otherwise, the passage itself shows no peculiarity of style, and is fully Diodoran.



impending war and were wrecked by the calamities that were ready and waiting for them. The most distinguished Romans, I mean Scaevola and Crassus, were murdered without trial in the Senate House, and by their own misfortunes provided a foretaste of the magnitude of the sufferings that were to come upon Italy. For the majority of the senators and distinguished men were done away with by Sulla's associates, and no fewer than a hundred thousand soldiers were cut down in the civil conflicts and battles. All this happened to mankind because of the wealth which Marius had longed for at the beginning' (37.29.4-5).

Diodorus in fact later recounted the episodes summarised here in the fuller narrative of Bk. 38, as can clearly be seen from the extant fragments concerning the desperate struggle of the younger Marius (38/9.12-18). A more detailed account of the murder of Scaevola (37/8.17), in particular, appears in the same Byzantine anthology (*De virt.*) which excerpted the above passage, thus showing that these two extracts certainly come from different passages of the *Bibliothēke*, and are not doublets derived from a single account. One has the impression that Posidonius, the current source for Diodorus, somehow found the troubles of the year 88 a convenient point to anticipate not only the passing of Marius in 86 but, in one breath, the entire course of the crises in the years to come.<sup>35</sup> But why was it necessary? Before drawing a conclusion from this single impression, however, I shall examine one more passage in Bk. 38/9, which refers to the so-called 'reign of terror' that followed the return of Marius and Cinna to Rome in 87.

Most of the Diodoran narrative from Marius' attempt at the Eastern command in 88 up to the point in discussion is now lost; and, as we might have expected, there is no attested fragment of Posidonius that covers any of the upheavals of that period. Nevertheless, analogies between what little is left of the *Bibliothēke* (38/9.1-4) on the one hand, and the complete narratives by Plutarch and Appian on the other, are strong

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<sup>35</sup> Several basic ideas I have expressed concerning the 'biography' of Marius were already anticipated by Ruschenbusch (1993). I am not going into a detailed criticism of the many presuppositions passed over without examination in his article, but shall only add that his assignment of the terminal date of the *Histories* to the year 88, based on the sole evidence of this Marian passage, is rather shaky: as will be seen, we can still trace the Posidonian footprints in Diodorus at the point of the return of Marius and Cinna in 87 (38/9.6). Malitz (1983), p. 405, had also suggested that the Posidonian narrative of the history of Rome ended with Marius' death and an anticipation of the events down to 82; but he thought that it could not be proved.



enough to encourage us to speculate the use of a common source among them.<sup>36</sup> Besides, the passages of Plutarch (*Mar.* 42-44) and Appian (*BC* 1.69-74), both of whom are suspected of having used Posidonius in one way or another, demonstrate striking parallelism for the episodes concerned. Thus it may reasonably be supposed that Posidonius was still writing in the *Histories* a full account of the political troubles in Rome at the point of Marius' entry to Rome in 87. And here comes, in Diodorus, yet another anticipation of the future course of events, including the Mithridatic War this time, up until 82:

'On account of their butchery of citizens and inhuman lawlessness, a divinely-appointed Nemesis swiftly pursued Marius and Cinna (ταχέως ἐκ θεῶν τις Κίννα καὶ Μαρίω ἠκολούθησε νέμεσις). For Sulla, their only surviving enemy, smashed the forces of Mithridates in Boeotia, forced Athens to surrender and, thereupon having made an ally of Mithridates and taken over the fleet from him, returned to Italy. Having smashed the forces of Cinna and Marius in an instant, he became the master of the whole of Rome and Italy, put all the murderous followers of Cinna to death, and uprooted the Marian stock ...' (38/9.6).<sup>37</sup>

That νέμεσις, in the form of Sulla, swiftly chased Marius and Cinna is a somewhat bizarre concept from a chronological point of view. A reactionary Roman might

<sup>36</sup> For the first conference between Cinna and the senatorial envoy, compare Diod. 38/9.1 ('οἷς ἀπόκρισιν ἔδωκεν (sc. ὁ Κίννας) ὡς ὕπατος ἐξεληλυθὼς οὐ προσεδέξατο τὴν ἐπάνοδον ἐν ιδιώτου σχήματι ποιήσασθαι') and App. *BC* 1.69 ('ὁ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἤρετο, πότερον ὡς πρὸς ὕπατον ἔλθοιεν ἢ πρὸς ιδιώτην'). For the suicide of Lutatius Catulus, compare Diod. 38/9.4.2-4.3 and Plut. *Mar.* 44.8 (for Marius' reply to the appeal from Catulus, 'Θανεῖν δεῖ', cp. also Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* 5.19.56: '*Moriatur*'; the manner of his death obviously became topical: see App. *BC* 1.74; Vell. 2.22.3-4; Flor. 2.9.16). Yet the remark of Octavius (Diod. 38/9.2.2) occurs under somewhat different circumstances in Appian (*BC* 1.71). Baldson (1965), p. 231, suggests that Appian's report on the horror that followed Marius' entry to Rome derives from Sisenna. However how can we, if that were to be the case, explain the overall affinities between Diodorus and Appian? It is certainly possible that the corresponding passages in both authors (plus Plutarch) indeed go back, through the intermediary of Posidonius, to Sisenna. However, there are no means to prove Posidonius' use of Sisenna, nor is it very likely that the philosopher's command of Latin was adequate enough to make the Latin work readily accessible to him. The obvious alternative, Sulla's *commentarii* in Greek, which Posidonius may well have used as one of his sources (see below), carry even less weight in this instance, since the particulars of the incidents in Rome during Sulla's absence from the city would have found no proper place in his autobiography. As there is no extant fragment from Sisenna's *Historiae* on this period, the question of the ultimate source for Diodorus /Appian /Plutarch must remain open.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Walton (1967), p. 246 n. 2: 'As a sequel to his account of the Marian reign of terror, Diodorus in this fragment gives a summary of the future course of the civil war.'



possibly have said that about Cinna, but hardly about Marius; at any event, both men were long dead before Sulla's actual return (four years before in the case of Marius).<sup>38</sup> Yet this peculiar, *post eventum* anticipation chimes in with yet another anachronistic statement in a Diodoran passage on Sulla's operations in Attica in 87 during the course of his Mithridatic campaigns (38/9.7). It tells of Sulla's capture of the treasures housed in Greek sanctuaries, and remarks that the purpose of this seizure was to prepare for an expected war in Italy (πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ προσδοκωμένους πολέμους). It is rather absurd to say that in 87, when Sulla had just set out on a full-scale campaign away from home, he was collecting money to prepare for an invasion of Italy, which was by no means certain at that stage - despite the assertion in προσδοκώμενος - and was still under negotiation as late as early 84 and did not take place until the year after that. It is true that Plutarch too reports Sulla's concern about the political situation in Rome at the time of his siege of Athens (*Sull.* 12). However he (*loc. cit.*), joined by Pausanias (9.7.4-6), also gives us a far more plausible purpose than Diodorus does for the funds Sulla raised from the temple treasuries: i.e., they were for the war currently being fought, the Mithridatic War, not the one in Italy.<sup>39</sup> Again, this anachronism in Diodorus, clearly written with the benefit of hindsight long after everything had happened, may bring us back to the overall perception of the course of events between 88-82 in the *Bibliothèque*, namely, that the remaining Italian rebels from the Social War fought on right up to Sulla's final victory in the Civil War. All these statements, furthermore, closely dovetail with the other anachronism in Diodorus and Plutarch already discussed: that Marius died in terror, προορώμενος γὰρ τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Σύλλα πόλεμον επικρεμάμενον τῇ Ῥώμῃ as early as the year 86.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>38</sup> It was not Sulla that caused Cinna's death; notoriously he was assassinated by his own troops (App. *BC* 1.78; Plut. *Pomp.* 5; Liv. *Per.* 83; Vell. 2.24.5; Oros. 5.19.24; Auct. *Vir.* III. 69.4; Exup. 4). Velleius (*loc. cit.*) even complained that Cinna should have been killed by Sulla rather than by his own soldiers: *vir dignior, qui arbitrio victorum moreretur quam iracundia militum*.

<sup>39</sup> But see Velleius (2.24.4): *cum per triennium Cinnanae Marianaeque partes Italiam obsiderent, (S.) neque inlaturum se bellum iis dissimulavit nec quod erat in manibus omisit* - does the theme of Sulla's tenacity of vengeance on his enemies in Rome come from his memoirs? Cf. also App. *Mithr.* 54, which mentions both this sacred money and Sulla's concern over his opponents at home in the context of the peace of Dardanus in 85.

<sup>40</sup> The fact is, according to Salmon (1967), pp. 377-381 (cf. p. 377 n. 4), that even the Samnites were demobilised after 87, and Sulla did not make up his mind to invade Italy until



To sum up, even from the fragmentary nature of the surviving material it is now clear that the whole process of the crises from 88 to 82 was anticipated, before the narrative proper in the following book, at least three times in the *Bibliothēke*, with slightly differentiated focuses in each case: the epilogue to the account of the Social War encompasses the Italian involvement in the ensuing Civil Wars (probably down to the battle of the Colline Gate); the biography of Marius looks forward to the massacre of senators in 82; and the account of the Marian 'reign of terror', condemning Marius and Cinna, anticipates the return of Sulla and the ultimate fate of the Marians. Only after three successive anticipations did the unabridged narrative of the same incidents come, positioned properly in Bk. 38 in accordance with the regular 'annalistic format' (of which only a few fragments are extant). The fact, it is true, that we are encountering here a digression that looks forward to future events in an otherwise neatly chronological framework is not unusual in itself: Diodorus does at times anticipate what is to come in his historical narrative, almost always inserting a cross-reference with such formulaic expressions as ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις χρόνοις ἀναγράφομεν or ἐν τοῖς οἰκείοις χρόνοις ἐποῦμεν (e.g., 13.37.5f.; 13.96.4; 14.63.2; 15.39.2f.; 15.79.2; 16.8.7; 16.60.5; 16.65.9; 17.1.3f.; 17.6.3; 17.114.4; 18.53.7; 19.55.9; 20.10.4; 20.47.6; 20.101.3f.). In fact, Diodorus typically transgresses the normal boundaries of annalistic framework when he sees fit to draw 'a summary of the career of some famous person' and/or 'to point out some large development of events which has to be extrapolated from the details of several years' narrative', and that is precisely the case with the above three excursuses.<sup>41</sup>

Nevertheless, the anomaly of those anticipations is still beyond dispute, above all for the sheer frequency of their occurrence and the specificity of their contents. Nowhere else in the extant books does Diodorus anticipate the same course of events

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84 at the earliest; on the possibility that Sulla and Cinna might still have reached agreement in 84, see Lewis (S), p. 143 and n. 179.

<sup>41</sup> Rubincam (1989), pp. 44 and 49. For Diodorus' use of cross-references that look forward to later stages of his narrative, see Rubincam (1987), pp. 317-321, and *id.* (1989), pp. 40f., 44 and 51. The three fragments in question actually do not contain any cross-references as might have been expected. Yet a lack of cross-references in fragments obviously cannot attest their absence in the original, and it would have been rather surprising had the excerptors not trimmed away all the cross-references to other sections that were out of the scope of their quotation. If, on the other hand, there was no cross-reference even in the original, that would only highlight the peculiarity of those three excursuses.



three times, in fact not even twice: in all the other cases where an episode is anticipated, there is only one reference forward.<sup>42</sup> Furthermore, Diodorus usually shows considerable care in his handling of anticipatory remarks, which inevitably violate the annual divisions of events: ἵνα μὴ προλαμβάνωμεν τῇ γραφῇ τοὺς καιροὺς (13.37.6; 14.63.2; 17.1.4; cf. 16.8.7); thus our historian, even when he finds it necessary to look forward, limits himself to as brief a mention as possible of the events to be described, so as to avoid repetition of details later. The three passages concerned, however, show no sign of such an attempt and, in fact, scarcely disguise a certain persistence in telling as much as possible at a breath: even the most casual reading of them makes it obvious that all three go far beyond mere chance mentions of the future development of events. In a word, they stand out from all the other 'ordinary' Diodoran anticipations.

We need not, therefore, doubt that those three digressions, which summarise in anticipation the episodes recounted later in fuller form and κατὰ χρόνον, closely reflect what had already been in Diodorus' source, that is Posidonius' *Histories*. And from those three anticipations we have reviewed, there emerge some signs of how Posidonius ended his *Histories*. It seems that the philosopher, towards the end of his work, was still carrying on multiple strands of narratives, in a manner very probably similar to the *modus operandi* of Polybius, or perhaps even more flexible than that of his predecessor. That is, a thematic, κατὰ γένος arrangement of material in different theatres of events that are separated by geographical distance, yet synchronising those theatres in a broadly chronological order; and these strands will have included the political cataclysms within the city of Rome, the Samnite-Sabellian involvement in these upheavals, which he uniquely considered as an extension of the Social War (or the southern theatre of the Social War as having fused into the Civil Wars after 88), or Sulla's Mithridatic campaigns in the East, the dying days of the Seleucid kingdom, or the dynastic ups and downs of Ptolemaic Egypt, and so on. That the last thread in the list, 'the Egyptian strand', marked the very end of the whole narrative of the

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<sup>42</sup> Cp. the forward cross-references and the corresponding chapters they point to in 'Appendix: Tabulation of Cross-References' in Rubincam (1989), pp. 54-61. The same table greatly helped me examine all the anticipatory passages in the surviving historical narrative of the *Bibliothèque*.



*Histories*, is beyond doubt from the Suda's characterisation of the work as ἱστορίαν ... ἕως τοῦ πολέμου τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ καὶ Πτολεμαίου (T1a EK).<sup>43</sup> For the

<sup>43</sup> This Πτολεμαῖος has often been identified as Ptolemy X Alexander I, whose physical and mental corruption featured in Bk. 47 of the *Histories* (F77 EK) and whose expulsion from Alexandria in 88 must have been mentioned in one of the last books that followed: Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.279f.; Theiler, *Erläut.*, pp. 78f. On the other hand ὁ πόλεμος ὁ Κυρηναϊκός has, largely for want of other evidence, been linked to Sulla's dispatch of Lucullus to the southern shores of the Mediterranean in the winter of 87 and early 86 (Plut. *Luc.* 2.3-4; Strabo, F7 FGH 2A.91; App. *Mithr.* 5.33); Theiler, *Erläut.*, pp. 78f.; Malitz (1983), p. 70; Ruschenbusch (1993), pp. 71f.; cf. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.278-280; Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 156. Plutarch in fact reports that on his arrival Lucullus found Cyrene in 'continuous tyrannies and wars (τυραννίδων συνεχῶν καὶ πολέμων)' (cf. also Plut. *Mor.* 255E-257E, *Mul. Virt.* 19 Aretaphila), while Strabo identifies the local turmoil at that time in Cyrenaica as a stasis of the resident Jews. If the association of τοῦ Κυρηναϊκοῦ with Lucullus' mission is correct, the 'Ptolemy' of the Suda seems in chronological terms to fit better, despite Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 156, with the Ptolemy IX Soter II, the other son of Euergetes II Physcon who regained the throne after Alexander's death in 88 and remained alive until 81 (Porphyry, F2.8-9 FGH 2B.260; Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 39.5.1; Paus. 1.9.3; *CAH IX*<sup>2</sup>, pp. 316ff.; cf. Diod. 34/5.39a); see Plut. *Luc.* 2.5-6, on his lavish reception of Lucullus at Alexandria. But we can admittedly no longer figure out what incident the 'Cyrenaic War' precisely points to, and which Ptolemy the Suda exactly meant.

On the other hand, I see no reason why this notice in the Suda should cause such scholarly puzzlement, which has led to suggestions such as that the text needs to be emended (Malitz, *op. cit.*, p. 6 n. 10) or worse that the death of Marius and the fall of Athens to Sulla in 86 gave Posidonius the conclusion of his work (Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 79). However interpreted, 'the Cyrenaic War and Ptolemy' cannot refer to those incidents; and the obscurity itself of the Suda's reference may well underpin its accuracy rather than discredit it - despite Verbrugghe (1975) p. 203 n. 29. The indication in the Suda is clear: that the very last chapters of the *Histories* - and not the 'zweiten Enddatum' (Theiler, *op. cit.*, p. 78) - were occupied with an 'Egyptian strand' of the narrative. Are we not too much accustomed to the predominantly Romanocentric scope of the historiography of the time and afterwards, to the point of refusing to take the Suda's explicit reference at face value?; see also Chap. 3, note 23. The view in Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.280, and *id.* (1989), p. 39, that the *Histories* may not have had a definite concluding point of significance and have been 'unfinished like that of Thucydides', does not do much justice, either, to the evidence in the Suda: our ignorance of the episodes mentioned, on which his theory of the *Histories* as an incomplete work is entirely based, does not necessarily mean their insignificance for Posidonius. Do we know, for example, anything outside Posidonius about the tyranny of Athenion, the episode which, thanks to the sheer length of the excerpt, has been brought into such prominence in Posidonian scholarship (F253 EK)? It seems that his criteria of assessing the historical importance of events do not always coincide with ours, or even with those of contemporary writers and especially Roman chroniclers. Posidonius may have recounted this nebulous 'Cyrenaic War', be it some local troubles of the early 80s or something unknown to us (possibly some sequel to Ptolemy Apion's controversial bequest of Cyrenaica to Rome in 92?; Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 39.5.2; App. *Mithr.* 17.121; *BC* 1.111), with a literary zeal and vividness comparable to the Athenion incident, enough to convince the editor of the Suda (or in fact his source) that it was a 'war'. And perhaps for Posidonius, this 'war' in Cyrene and the 'Ptolemy' were a perfectly fitting conclusion of the whole narrative of the *Histories*. The fact that Posidonius attached anticipatory excursuses to the 'Roman-Italian strands' might just indicate that he somehow changed his initial plan and hurried towards the end of his work, but will also deny that the narrative was abruptly broken off in the way Thucydides' was. Furthermore, it seems likely that the *Histories* were published well before Posidonius' death (probably by 60), which would have left him with ample time to finalise his work in one way or another; on the question of the publication of the *Histories*, cf. T34 EK; Theiler,



‘Roman-Italian strands’, however, at one point of his account sometime between 87-86, Posidonius found himself no longer able to continue a full record of incidents in extensive details; and yet he saw it imperative not to break off these strands of narrative abruptly, but to seek some sort of ‘soft landing’ for them. For this reason he chose to append, in at least three different contexts, summaries of what was to happen as a sequel to the Romano-Italian current of events, the Civil Wars, which were yet to be settled in 87/6, as far down as 82, which marked the final, though precarious, settlement of the crisis with Sulla’s victory over the Marians. This is, I think, more or less what was happening behind those three anticipatory passages in the *Bibliothèque*.

Scholars have long tried hard to establish the exact terminal point of Posidonius’ *Histories*, yet without much success. The difficulty, in my view, partly or chiefly arises from the problems posed by the flexible or organic structure - or even the ‘loose chronology’ - of Posidonius’ work, as opposed to a strictly chronological framework such as Livy’s. From all the evidence examined so far, however, we may finally conclude that Posidonius’ narrative of Roman history effectively terminated at 87/6, and he had to content himself with mere *résumés* of the events yet to be described down to 82; and that, therefore, Diodorus did not derive from Posidonius the remnants of what constituted his narrative proper of the history of the city of Rome and Italy between 87/6-82 and afterwards, but consulted (an)other source(s).<sup>44</sup>

## 2. DIODORUS’ SOURCES FOR THE POST-POSIDONIAN NARRATIVE

Diodorus no longer relied on Posidonius’ *Histories* for the period after 87/6. We must therefore turn elsewhere in search of the source(s) he used for the narrative that followed. This simple truism has been frankly accepted by some scholars, yet without considering its implications further: what could those ‘sources’ have been?<sup>45</sup>

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*Erläut.*, pp. 79f.; Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 162: ‘es beweist, daß P. damals (sc. 60) als berühmter griechischer historiker galt, die Historien also mindestens teilweise vorlagen’; but see also Malitz (1983), pp. 28 and 73.

<sup>44</sup> The latest ‘Posidonian footprints’ traceable, in my opinion, in the Roman part of his work is the last of the three anticipatory passages on the defeat of the Marians (38/9.6). The very end of this passage, however, seems to echo more of Diodorus’ formulaic thought: διὸ καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν μετρίων ἀνδρῶν τὴν τῶν προκαταρξάντων τῆς μαιφονίας τιμωρίαν εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν πρόνοιαν ἀνέπεμπον· κάλλιστον γὰρ παράδειγμα τοῖς ἀσεβῇ βίον αἰρουμένοις πρὸς διόρθωσιν κακίας ἀπελέλειπτο.

<sup>45</sup> Schwartz, *RE*, cols. 690f.; Càssola (1982), p. 769; Malitz (1983), p. 37.



A few others, however, see a ghost of Posidonius still hanging about Diodorus' 'post-Posidonian narrative' for various reasons:<sup>46</sup> 1) few names have ever been convincingly suggested as alternative sources; 2) linguistic and conceptual parallelism observable between Posidonian-suspect fragments in earlier books and some passages after 87/6; 3) supposed structural similarities between the (again hypothetical) Posidonian 'narrative pattern' and other ancient traditions for the post-Sullan episodes, notably the wars against Spartacus and the Cilician pirates; thus they, together with Diodorus' account of the Sicilian Slave Wars, are all deemed to form 'Posidonian' traditions; 4) last but not least, Posidonius may possibly have written a monograph on Pompey.<sup>47</sup> These questions concerning Diodorus' source(s) for the period following 87/6, including that of a Posidonian monograph on Pompey, will be treated in the following paragraphs. In the course of my discussion, I shall also suggest some alternative answers to them.

The choices are multiple for our source question, since quite a number of contemporary or near-contemporary works, extant or lost, are known to have been written on the eventful years of the late Republic. The range of sources available to Diodorus is not restricted, at least in theory, to Greek traditions alone. For Diodorus claims to have knowledge of Latin and thus access to Roman ὑπονήματα (1.4.4). Modern scholarship has tended to look at this claim with great suspicion at best, and often dismissed it out of hand.<sup>48</sup> Yet there has been no secure evidence ever given that it was indeed empty brag. On the other hand, it is no easier, if it is possible at all, to prove that Diodorus actually used Latin sources on a large scale or searched the Roman archive during his stay at the imperial city (cf. 1.4.3). More practically,

<sup>46</sup> Most famously Strasburger (1965), pp. 42 and 44; Sacks (1990), pp. 122 and 177 (though somewhat wavering); Mazzarino (1966), pp. 411f.; Rawson (1985), p. 226.

<sup>47</sup> (1) Alternative sources - Schwartz, *RE*, col. 691, characteristically remarks: 'Über den Rest lässt sich nichts Genaueres sagen'; however an extract from Schaefer's manuscript, quoted by Vogel-Weidemann (1985), pp. 67-69, does name Theophanes as the likeliest candidate (see below). (2) Verbal parallelism - see, for example, the nearly identical phrasing of 34/5.2.40 (on the Sicilian rebels) and 38/9.21 (on Spartacus). (3) The structural similarities - see above, note 8.

<sup>48</sup> Busolt (1890), p. 322 n. 1; Schwartz, *RE*, cols. 696f.; Sacks (1990), p. 118 n. 3 and p. 164; Malitz (1983), p. 41; Schaefer in Vogel-Weidemann (1985), p. 58; but also see different views in Oldfather (1933), pp. xiiif.; Càssola (1982), pp. 746ff. Peculiar Latinisms in the *Bibliothèque*, on the other hand, have also been pointed out: for example, Botteri and Raskolnikoff (1979) and *id.* (1983) for the political lexicon of the Gracchan passages.



therefore, we should begin our research from Greek traditions, and as far as the resources become exhausted on this side.

SULLA AND THE CIVIL WARS

Despite some ambivalence towards Marius' early career, the overall picture in the *Bibliothèque*, as far as it survives, is hostile to him up to 87/6. As has been remarked earlier, this political bias may well derive primarily from Rutilius Rufus (via Posidonius). We have also observed, however, that in the Diodoran narrative of the Social War, there are some hints at the Sullan tradition, especially at Sulla's notorious *Commentarii* themselves, which could not possibly have been friendly to Marius.<sup>49</sup> In addition, the whole series of ancient traditions dependent, in one way or another, on this autobiographical work line up in a chorus of accusations against Marius for the part he played in the crisis of 88-87, and on such political grounds as have been found in Diodorus: the illegality (παράνομως) of Marius' attempt to shift the Mithridatic command from Sulla to himself, alleged in the above-quoted Diodoran summary of Marius' life (37.29.2), is also stressed by other sources including Plutarch (*Sull.* 8, together with the damning verdict on Sulpicius), Appian (*BC* 1.55f.) and Livy (*Per.* 75).<sup>50</sup> Indeed it seems very likely, in my view, that the theme of Marius' premature apprehension of Sulla's return in the *Bibliothèque*, a theme that can also be found in the parallel passage in Plutarch, itself ultimately goes back to Sulla's work, which Posidonius probably used (and no doubt freely interpreted) for his narrative for these years.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> See Chap. 3, pp. 87ff. for the relevant 'Marian' passages in the *Bibliothèque*. This ambivalence itself was certainly not unique to Diodorus. Mixed feelings towards Marius are often to be found in ancient traditions - favourable to him as a military commander, but critical of his political career (esp. his rôle in the Civil Wars): cf. Liv. *Per.* 80; Vell. 2.23.1. For the likely Sullan influences on Diodorus' account of the Social War, see Chap. 4, pp. 120f.

<sup>50</sup> The Eastern command against Mithridates had been assigned to Sulla under the *Lex Sempronia de provinciis consularibus* of 123 B.C. For the traditions on the legitimacy of this allotment (and the alleged illegitimacy of Marius' attempt), see also Lewis (S), pp. 128f. and n. 123.

<sup>51</sup> One might also be tempted to attribute the origin of a report (supposedly by Diodorus) of the portents witnessed, so we are told, at the beginning of the Civil War (38/39.5.1) to Sulla's autobiography - the whole passage gives an inkling of the incessant love of things supernatural that permeated his work, indulging at every juncture in telling about dreams, soothsaying and divinations, with implicit and explicit pretensions to his professed *felicitas* (Sulla FF8; 16; 18; 21 Peter; cf. F15, all cited by Plutarch); cf. Lewis (1991), pp. 513-516; *id.* (S), pp. 105ff.; 114; 150-end on Sulla's use of *felicitas* as means to 'defend the indefensible'. John of Antioch, who cites the above report, credits it to Diodorus and Livy,



On the whole the 'Posidonian' passages in the *Bibliothēke* prior to 87/6 strongly suggest the philosopher's use of sources close to Sulla, if not of his autobiography itself. We may note, on the other hand, that the pro-Sullan material in Diodorus is often intertwined with contrasting pictures of Sulla and his partisans (37.29.5; 38/9.7; 15; 19), and this mixture of praise and cynicism has sometimes been thought to reflect the ambivalence towards the Dictator on the part of Posidonius.<sup>52</sup> That may be applicable, at least, for the narrative around the year 87/6. A fragment on Sulla's operations in Attica, for example, recounts his seizure of the treasures housed in Greek sanctuaries and consecration of (confiscated) Theban land for compensation, followed by his haughty assertion of 'the total supremacy in battle through the help of the gods, who had contributed a large amount of money to him (εὐτραπελευόμενος δὲ ἀπεφαίνετο κρατεῖν τῷ πολέμῳ πάντως διὰ τὸ τοὺς θεοὺς αὐτῷ συνεργεῖν, εἰσενηνοχότας χρημάτων πολὺ τι πλῆθος αὐτῷ)' (38/9.7). Sulla himself may well have sought in his memoirs to justify this action in Greece, which must have been seen by many as an act of sacrilege - with, of course, ultimate resort to his privileged *felicitas* of being specially favoured by the gods.<sup>53</sup> So it is possible that the Diodoran

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but it is obvious, from the word-for-word agreement between his citation and a passage in Plutarch (*Sulla* 7), that John's immediate source was in fact Plutarch; so Walton (1966), p. 241 n. 2. However, John of Antioch read Diodorus and Livy, too, both of whom are no less keen on omens. Thus we need not doubt that the two authors also picked up the same report on portents that originates in Sulla's autobiography, in the context of Marius' decision to align himself with Sulpicius in 88, a context known from Plutarch. Appian (*BC* 1.83) reports similar portents at the point of Sulla's invasion of Italy (cf. also *Obseq.* 57), with an allusion, like Plutarch and John of Antioch, to the Etruscan doctrine (so Gabba, *App. BC I*, *ad loc.*): μαντευμάτων παλαιῶν ἐπιφοβωτέρων ἐμνημόνευον.

<sup>52</sup> *HRR*, cclxxiii; Càssola (1982), p. 766; given this ambivalence, the view of Desideri (1972), p. 493, that 'si può pensare ad un'adesione di Posidonio all'azione sillana di restaurazione del prestigio e del potere senatorio' is rather dubious. However, mixed judgement on Sulla is again a commonplace among ancient authors: Plut. *Sull.* 6.7ff.; 30.4f.; Dio, 30-35.F109.1ff.; Liv. *Per.* 88; Exup. 5; Vell. 2.25.3, 'in eodem homine duplicis ac diversissimi animi conspiceretur exemplum' and Sall. *Cat.* 11.4, 'bonis initiis malos eventus habuit' (cf. Exup. 5), being typical verdicts.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. also Plut. *Sull.* 12: '... ὥστε θαρροῦντα λαμβάνειν ἐκέλευσεν, ὡς ἡδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διδόντος'; in the same context Plutarch also relates a miracle at Delphi, another favourite topic in Sulla's autobiography; but see a different tradition condemning his impiety preserved by Pausanias (1.20.6-7). On possible Sullan substrata in the apologetic traditions on this and other fund-raising measures he had taken in Greece, see Lewis (S), pp. 115 (with n. 82) and 153f.; for the recurrent claim to his own felicity in Sulla's work, see above note 51.



fragment is an echo of such an apologia which Posidonius found in his source, the Sullan *commentarii*, and deliberately distorted with a hint of sarcasm.<sup>54</sup>

It has already been noted that Posidonius was probably handling different threads of narratives towards the end of his work. Thus it would be little wonder to find him bringing the part of his narrative on affairs in the Eastern Mediterranean a little further down in time than that of Rome. The Athenion fragment confirms that the philosopher was still able to develop a fully elaborate narrative for the situation of Athens in late 88, and quite possibly towards the siege of the city.<sup>55</sup> Chronologically, therefore, there is little problem in fitting the above fragment on Sulla's Attic campaign into the scope of the *Histories*. The flexible structure employed by Posidonius, furthermore, will render it a perfectly valid option to ascribe, by extension, even the hostile treatment of Fimbria to him within the scope of his work as I have defined it (38/9.8).<sup>56</sup> Nothing certain can of course be said about the origin of the passages on Fimbria's campaigns, as other traditions show considerable variations in details; and yet if the Diodoran passages in question truly derive from Posidonius, the view on the mutinous Roman commander may well be as much the philosopher's own, seen from the viewpoint of the Greek East, as Sulla's.<sup>57</sup> Curiously enough, at the

<sup>54</sup> If 'the Cyrenaic War' marked by the Suda as the end of Posidonius' *Histories* (T1a EK) can truly be linked to the mission of Lucullus to the South in the winter 87/6 (see above, note 43), it will certainly attest that the Diodoran narrative of Sulla's Attic operations at this point still fell within the chronological scope of the *Histories*.

<sup>55</sup> Athenion's return from his Mithridatic mission was in the early summer of the year, and Apellicon's futile expedition to Delos probably in October, if we follow the chronology outlined by Badian (1976), pp. 110f. and 113. The identity of this mysterious figure Athenion, esp. his relationship with the far better-known tyrant Aristion, is beyond the scope of the current study; see Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.884ff. and *id.* (1989), p. 44, for the literature of past discussions.

<sup>56</sup> Hence Strasburger's suspicion (1965, p. 44) of the Posidonian origin of this fragment may be justified in theory, although its association with his 'extension theory' of the *Histories* will not; cf. *RE Flavius* (88), col. 2600, which attributes to Posidonius other traditions on the Roman expedition to the East under the Marian government.

<sup>57</sup> Fimbria's giving the soldiers licence to plunder the territories of the Roman allies to bribe their affections (38/9.8.1) is not much attested outside the *Bibliothèque*; hence the possibility that Posidonius had an independent source, oral or otherwise, of his own in the Greek-speaking world of Asia Minor - *pace* Badian (1962), p. 49, who suspects that there was no detailed source for Sulla's Eastern campaigns other than his *Commentarii* themselves; maybe so in the Roman tradition, but not necessarily in that of the Greek East (Memnon, for example, probably had a source independent from Sulla, as Badian, *op. cit.*, p. 56, himself points out), precisely to which Posidonius belonged. There is just possibly a trace of the same tradition in Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 70.1 (*corrupto exercitu*), although '*F. saevissimus, quippe Cinnae satelles*' might just point to Sulla as well; so might Oros. 6.2.9., '*F. Marianorum scelerum satelles, homo omnium audacissimus*'; for Sulla on Fimbria, see Lewis (S), pp.



end of the fragment comprising two Constantinian *excerpta* (38/9.8.4), Diodorus (or his source) appends a comment, clearly *anticipatory*, on Fimbria's death that was yet to come somewhat later in the same year (85) after the peace of Dardanus (cf. App. *Mithr.* 59-60; Plut. *Sull.* 25; Liv. *Per.* 83; Vell. 2.24.1).

This is as much as can be said on the likelihood of Sulla's memoirs having left their traces in the 'Posidonian narrative' of the *Bibliothèque*. But the overall Sullan touch in those passages, or at any rate the often outright anti-Marianism, quickly gives way to a more balanced, less partisan, view of events as the narrative approaches 82, the year of the unfortunate consulship of the younger Marius. Diodorus attests the willing support (ἐθελοντήν) of the consul of 82 by old veterans (38/9.12) and the pledge of allegiance to him (εὐνοία) by M. Perperna (or Perpenna, as in Diodorus) (38/9.14). For Diodorus, furthermore, the title which Sulla had assumed after his victory, Epaphroditus, was a 'boast' (ἀλαζονεία), whereas the struggle of the younger Marius was 'noble' (γενναίως ἀγωνισάμενος) (38/9.15). One would hardly expect such statements as these from Sulla himself. Another passage that describes the division of the (presumably) Italian cities during the internal strife shows not only strong sympathy for the predicaments of those compelled to choose either side, but a detached cynicism towards both warring parties (38/9.13; cf. 37.2.14).<sup>58</sup> Except for the general outline of the events summarised by Photius (38/9.15), there are no close parallels for the above fragments in other sources, with the possible exception of Appian (see below). If we compare them, however, with predominantly conservative traditions on the Italian war the contrast is beyond

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137ff. and n.154 and 164. Different versions of the process leading up to the mutiny are to be found in App. *Mithr.* 52; Memnon (*FGH* 3B.434), 24.1-3; Dio, 30/35.F104; see also *RE Flavius* (88), col. 2600 - Appian and Memnon, in contrast to Diodorus, term Fimbria's fawning upon the army as 'humanity': φιλανθρωπότερος (Appian); φιλανθρωπῶπως (Memnon). The plunder of Nicomedeia and Cyzicus (38/9.2-3) has been eclipsed by the impression the destruction of Ilium has left on ancient sources, which unanimously condemn Fimbria for the latter act: App. *Mithr.* 53; Dio, 30/35.F104.6-7; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 70.3-4; Oros. 6.2.11; cf. Strabo, 13.1.27; *FGH* 2B.252 A3; yet a somewhat more lenient view in Vell. 2.24.1. The sources supposedly under Sullan influence are no less unfavourable to Valerius Flaccus, the Marian suffect consul of 86, whom Fimbria murdered: Vell. 2.23.2; App. *Mithr.* 51; Liv. *Per.* 82; Dio, 30/35.F104.2; cf. Memnon (*FGH* 3B.434), 24.3.

<sup>58</sup> See Salmon (1982), pp. 130ff.; for a more complex side of the Italian situations during this period, see *id.* (1967), pp. 378-387.



dispute.<sup>59</sup> There is little, if anything, in the *Bibliothèque* that indicates Sullan influence, direct or indirect, on Diodorus' narrative around these years and certainly nothing beyond them, when the historian was no longer dependent on Posidonius.<sup>60</sup> It still remains possible that this appearance of neutrality in the Diodoran passages is merely due to the chance survival of a very few fragments. If, however, Diodorus' complete narrative were ever to turn up and proved to contain clearly pro-Sullan components, what we would be then encountering would be a rather unusual case; it would mean that our historian, contrary to his normal practice, conflated multiple sources that represented conflicting (or at least different) points of view on the history of the *bellum Sullanum*. A far easier explanation of the character of the surviving fragments will be that there was indeed a shift of political perspective in the narrative - a fact which may well be yet another indication of a switch of Diodorus' source from Posidonius to another one, and which will justifiably rule out the 'Sullan option' as one of the hypothetical sources for the post-Posidonian narrative.<sup>61</sup>

Leaving Sulla's work behind, then, what can we tell about the origin of the Diodoran account of the civil strife between Sulla and the Marians? Admittedly the scarcity of the extant fragments and, as has been remarked, the lack of external control over them do not offer much help for drawing any clear-cut conclusions. The

<sup>59</sup> See, for example, Liv. *Per.* 84-86; Auct. *Vir.* III. 68, with its false statement 'C. Marius filius ... curiam armatus obsedit, inimicos trucidavit ...'; Vell. 25.1-2, for all his Italian bias; Plut. *Mar.* 46.5-6; Augustin. *CD* 3.28; App. *BC* 1.82 is a notable exception. For the pro-Sullan tendency which has dominated our ancient sources for the period prior to the final victory of the Lucky Man, see Badian (1962), *passim*.

<sup>60</sup> Sulla's own *Commentarii* may have treated events as far down as his triumph in the year 81 at the latest (Lewis (1991), pp. 512 and 518f.; cf. *id.* (S), pp. 147f. and n. 214). According to Plutarch (*Sull.* 37 = Sulla F21 Peter), Sulla predicted his own death (78) in the last book of his memoirs. But Plutarch's quotation hardly justifies the thesis that he carried on his account right up to 78; Lewis (1991), pp. 517f., associates a fragment from Bk. 21, the penultimate book in Sulla's work (F20 Peter), with Vell. 2.27.1 on the battle of the Colline Gate (82), and infers that he could not have developed a full narrative much beyond that date.

<sup>61</sup> The fragment on the murder of Mucius Scaevola, *pontifex maximus* in 789-82 (see Broughton, *MRR*, 2.593), itself shows no sign of partisan *Tendenz* of Diodorus' source (38/9.17); Diodorus himself may well have resented the incident purely from his point of view as a moralist, whether it was carried out by the Marians (which it was) or by Sulla - the historian is suspected of having been partly responsible for the exaltation of Scaevola's governorship in Asia in Bk. 37 (37.5-6): on the formula used for Scaevola, τιμῶν ἰσοθέων ἔτυχε (37.6), and the historical authenticity of his 'deification', see Chap. 4, p. 110. At any event the manner of Scaevola's death was well-known (see Cic. *De Or.* 3.10; *ND* 3.80; Liv. *Per.* 86; Flor. 2.9.21; Lucan, 2.126-129; Augustin. *CD* 3.28-29).



only fragment on the subsequent *regnum Sullanum* (38/9.19) does not reveal much about the political bias in Diodorus' source, and Sulla's proscription policy was in any case highly unpopular in every strand of the ancient tradition.<sup>62</sup> The fact that the title Sulla assumed in the Greek East, Ἐπαφρόδιτος, is the only one mentioned (38/9.15) might possibly point to Diodorus' use of a Greek source, provided, of course, that it was not due to Photius' omission of any other titles Diodorus may have referred to in his original, such as Εὐτυχής, and possibly even Φῆλιξ or Φαῦστος (cf. Plut. *Sull.* 34.2; *Apophth. Sull.* 1; App. *BC* 1.97).<sup>63</sup> In this respect, only Appian and Livy appear to matter seriously in our investigation of the question of Diodorus' source, since (if for no other reason) the specific elements in Appian's account and the remnants of the lost narrative by Livy of this period offer some basis of comparison with those surviving fragments of the *Bibliothèque*.

Diodorus mentioned the attempt by the two belligerents to recruit newly enfranchised Italians after Sulla's landing in Italy and, to judge from the position of the episode in the *excerptum*, clearly after the start of the younger Marius' consulship in 82 (38/9.13). Besides Diodorus, it is attested by Appian alone, with tolerable deviation in chronological order (*BC* 1.76; 81f.; esp. 86; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 6; Liv. *Per.* 84 for Carbo's abortive demand of taking Italian hostages; *Per.* 86 on Sulla's overtures to the *populi Italici*). Furthermore, Appian repeatedly reminds the reader of the overall Italian support for the consuls opposing Sulla's advance, L. Scipio Asiagenus and C. Norbanus, as late as the end of 83, and their recognition of the legitimacy - or the legal façade anyhow - of their operations (*BC* 1.82: ἡ γὰρ εὐνοία τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐς τοὺς ὑπάτους παρὰ πολὺ ἐποίει; 86: τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι τοῖς ὑπάτοις συνισταμένης; πλέονος δ' αἰὲ τοῖς ὑπάτοις γιγνομένου στρατοῦ ἀπὸ τε τῆς πλέονος Ἰταλίας ἔτι σφίσι συνεστῶσης ...).<sup>64</sup> Of a period of history

<sup>62</sup> Plut. *Sull.* 31-32; *Cat. Min.* 17.4-5; App. *BC* 1.95-96; Dio, 30/35. F109.12-21; Liv. *Per.* 88; Vell. 2.22.5; 2.28.3-4; Sall. *Cat.* 37.9; 51.32-4; Exup. 5; Oros. 5.21.2-8; Val. Max. 3.1.2 (cf. Plut. *Cat. Min.* 3.2-4) and 9.2.1; Obseq. 57; Flor. 2.9.25-28 and 23.3; Dion. Hal. 8.80.2; Lucan, 2.169ff.; Sen. *Benef.* 5.16.3; *Prov.* 3.7-8; *Ira*, 3.18.1-3; Augustin. *CD* 3.28-29; cf. Cic. *Rosc. Amer. passim*.

<sup>63</sup> For Sulla's liking of the Aphrodite/ Venus motif, see *RRC* 359; 382 (with Crawford's comment in 1.373f.); cf. also nos. 375; 376; 426.

<sup>64</sup> Despite the order of the fragments in the *De sent.*, the Italian recruitment mentioned by Diodorus certainly took place during the winter 83-82 (cf. Gabba, *App. BC* I, 86.393); that is reported by Appian, *BC* 1.86, yet with marked cynicism in contrast to the sympathetic view



that survives 'entirely or mainly in one version' (read Sulla's),<sup>65</sup> Appian's statements certainly belong outside the mainstream, and this relative independence seems to compare well with the above Diodoran fragments. It has been speculated that Appian's immediate source for the Italian war was Livy, who, in turn, is thought to have used Sulla, at least partly.<sup>66</sup> However, if the above not-so-Sullan sentiments in Appian also come from Livy, it will reasonably follow that the latter merged his anti-Marian material with another, more neutral (if not pro-Marian) source.<sup>67</sup> If, on the other hand, the passages turn out not to derive from Livy, Appian must have based them on another intermediary, again comparatively free from pro-Sullan tendency, because he himself was writing at too great a distance from the events described to conjure up such factual details as Italian recruitment (as opposed to free interpretations, propensity for bloodshed etc.) out of the air. In either case, the existence of a Sulla-free source in Appian or, ultimately, in Livy does not seem to be an unreasonable conjecture.

The question is: is this hypothetical source, or at least something close to its political/ historiographical posture, also behind the Diodoran narrative? Whatever answer is given to the question is bound to be no more than highly speculative, yet the use of a common source other than Sulla's, be it known to us or not (Sisenna?), by both Livy and Diodorus for their narratives of this period, is not altogether

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of the Italians in the *Bibliothèque*. For Appian's repeated affirmation of the initial support given by the Italians (probably in Etruria) to the anti-Sullan opposition, see Gabba, *App. BC I*, 82.374.

<sup>65</sup> Badian (1962), p. 47.

<sup>66</sup> Lewis (S), pp. 96, 136 and 140f., with n. 13 and 171; on the Sullan strand in Livy, see Badian (1962), p. 49.

<sup>67</sup> Badian (1962), pp. 48-51 and 59, propounds a kind of *Zweiquellentheorie* for the lost portion of Livy's narrative for somewhat earlier stages of the struggle (86-84), concerning the alleged mass exodus of senators to the Sullan army in the East; his theory is based on a supposed dichotomy of the viewpoints of expatriates (deriving from Sulla's work) and those who stayed at home (from Sisenna, according to him), and not on conflicting political biases, within a single narrative. It is rejected by Baldson (1965), pp. 231f., pointing to the weakness of the 'evidence' which Badian puts forward, and by Lewis (S), pp. 140-142, who refers to mediating remarks in Velleius (2.23.3; 24.2; 25.2). Whichever of these two theses proves correct, there is still room for the possibility that Livy used, in addition to an anti-Marian tradition, another source for 83-82. As is clearly shown by the nearly universal condemnation (save, perhaps, a matter-of-fact statement in Auct. *Vir. III*. 75.10-11) of Sulla's postwar policy as tantamount to mass murder, Livy certainly had a non-Sullan source after the Colline Gate, probably because Sulla's was simply no longer available (see above, n. 60).



improbable. For example, the lynching of C. Fabius Hadrianus, praetor and propraeor of Africa 84-82 (*MRR*), is attested, outside the *Bibliothèque* (38/9.11), only by derivatives from Livy in secondary sources - or the 'Livian tradition' (Liv. *Per.* 86; Oros. 5.20.3; Val. Max. 9.10.2) - together with Cicero's polemics (*Verr.* 2.1.70 and 5.94; Ps.-Ascon. 241 Stangl). We might even recall the anecdote of a man who, while ridiculing the poor victims of the proscription, found his own name at the end of the list (38/9.19). It looks nearly impossible to trace the origin of an anecdote on an anonymous *proscriptus*, yet a similar manner and circumstances of the death are given of one Lollius by Orosius (5.21.4), who certainly adopted the story from Livy. To associate, however, Diodorus' scoundrel with this obscure Lollius solely on this analogy seems to require too great a leap forward of argument, which might or might not end up in disaster.<sup>68</sup> It would perhaps have allowed us to say a lot more on the source question of the Diodoran narrative for this period had there been more of Livy left.<sup>69</sup>

<sup>68</sup> Münzer, *RE Lollius* (2), refers to 'die ganz ähnliche Erzählung' of one Q. Aurelius in Plutarch (*Sull.* 31) but somehow fails to mention Diodorus. Incidentally, this Aurelius, who was an ἀνὴρ ἀπράγμων καὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτῷ μετεῖναι τῶν κακῶν νομίζων ὅσον ἄλλοις συναλγεῖν ἀτυχοῦσιν according to Plutarch, reveals a personality diametrically opposite to that of Diodorus' man. Scare stories of this kind were probably rife at that time (cf. Dio, 30/35.F109.14ff.), the most gruesome of which was the torture of M. Marius Gratidianus (Plut. *Sull.* 32.3; Sall. *Hist.* 1.44 M.; Lucan, 2.173-191; Sen. *Ira*, 3.18.1-2; Val. Max. 9.2.1; Liv. *Per.* 88; Oros. 5.21.7; Flor. 2.9.26; Augustin. *CD* 3.28).

<sup>69</sup> We may note that among the extant fragments of the Civil War in 82 there can be found a Diodoran formula central to the historian's philosophy of history: ὁ τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἔπαινος καὶ ἡ τῶν πονηρῶν βλασφημία μάλιστα δύναται πρὸς τὰ καλὰ τῶν ἔργων τοὺς ἀνθρώπους χειραγωγεῖν (38/9.18). The context in which Diodorus made this remark is not entirely clear. In the *De sent.*, it immediately follows the murder of Mucius Scaevola (38/9.17), but the hapless death of a man of virtue (τῆς ἰδίας ἀρετῆς) seems to fit ill with the moral *sententia* with which Diodorus was obsessed. Compare it with his first proem to Bk. 1: τοὺς δὲ πονηροὺς τῶν ἀνθρώπων ταῖς αἰωνίοις βλασφημίαις ἀποτρέπει τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὁρμῆς (1.1.5); and a remark Diodorus made in a context again closely associated with Scaevola: ἴν' οἱ μὲν πονηροὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων διὰ τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἱστορίαν βλασφημίας ἀποτρέπωνται τῆς ἐπὶ τὴν κακίαν ὁρμῆς, οἱ δὲ ἀγαθοὶ διὰ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς αἰωνίου δόξης ἐπαίνους ἀντέχεσθαι τῶν καλῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ὀρέγωνται (37.4) The theme also recurs in other books (e.g. 9.33; 10.12; 11.38.6; esp. 11.46.1: ἡμεῖς δὲ παρ' ὅλην τὴν ἱστορίαν εἰωθότες τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν διὰ τῶν ἐπιλεγομένων ἐπαίνων αὔξειν τὴν δόξαν, τοῖς δὲ φαύλοις ἐπὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ἐπιφθέγγεσθαι τὰς ἀρμοζούσας βλασφημίας). Cf. Chap. 4, pp. 114-116.



POMPEY'S EASTERN CAMPAIGNS

Even more complex problems of *Quellenkritik* loom large around the figure of Pompey, not so much for a lack of available options as for an excess of them. The situation is further complicated by Strabo's assertion of a Posidonian *ἱστορία ἢ περὶ τὸν Πομπήϊον* (F79 EK). Those who believe that Posidonius wrote much, much more than can be proved have understandably flocked to this somewhat cursory and mysterious remark. Encouraged, they have further proceeded, as has been remarked, to 'discovering' Posidonian traces in later traditions on Pompey's campaigns in the 60s. One notable example is the accounts in Plutarch's life of *Pompey*, Appian's *Mithridatika* and Strabo on the history of Cilician piracy, the proliferation of which eventually led to Pompey's simultaneous large-scale operations sweeping clear the whole Mediterranean in 67. I shall not attempt here to solve the insoluble question of whether or not Posidonius in fact wrote a 'history of Pompey', or whether there is indeed any influence of the philosopher, direct or indirect, upon these secondary traditions. I shall limit myself to repeating that anything that Posidonius may have written for those years cannot be part of the *Histories* (except, possibly, a chance mention of events in anticipation, which is however rather unlikely considering the lapse of time after 87/6); and to noting that nevertheless one cannot fail to recognise the considerable affinities - if not a 'narrative pattern' - between those passages in Strabo, Plutarch and Appian on the one hand, and on the other attested Posidonian fragments and those Diodoran passages in earlier books that are believed to be based on the *Histories* (which probably is the case), in the way in which aetiological, philosophical and historical explications are laid out.<sup>70</sup> Posidonius, as a naturalised

<sup>70</sup> The structural and conceptual similarities between Diodorus' account of the First Sicilian Slave War in Bk. 34/5 and the traditions in Strabo, Plutarch and Appian on the Pirate War are well documented in Strasburger (1965), p. 42 n. 34-37, and thus need not be repeated here. I shall only make additional comments on some details of those narratives which could point to Posidonius' literary peculiarities or may well have been within the sphere of his philosophical and historical interest.

1) The reasoning of Pompey's 'social' settlement of the pirate problem, recorded in Plutarch, '(sc. ὁ Πομπήϊος) ἐννοήσας οὖν ὅτι φύσει μὲν ἄνθρωπος οὔτε γέγονεν οὔτ' ἔστιν ἀνήμερος ζῶν οὐδ' ἄμικτον, ἀλλ' ἐξίσταται τῇ κακίᾳ παρὰ φύσιν χρώμενος ...' (*Pomp.* 28; cf. *App. Mithr.* 96; *Strabo*, 14.3.3; 5.8), certainly looks like an echo of the philosophical belief in the innate goodness of man expressed in a passage from Diodorus' account of the First Slave War (34/5.2.13; 2.40 = F108a; k *FGH Anhang*), although



Rhodian and a prytanis of the island (T27= F235 EK), must have been considerably concerned over the nuisance of the pirates and not least their recent alliance with Mithridates - hence his interest in the history of their emergence after the decline of the maritime supremacy of Rhodes.<sup>71</sup> An earlier fragment from the 'Posidonian narrative' of the *Bibliothēke* indeed points out the universal danger, and not only in

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Plutarch's passage presents merely a conceptual, not a linguistic, analogy with Diodorus'. On the other hand, if Plutarch's report is faithfully reflecting what Pompey had *actually* thought about the settlement of the war, I fancy the idea, by no means provable, that it was Pompey himself whose policy was being influenced by Posidonius' Stoicism; we may note that Pompey on several occasions paid homage to Posidonius as his disciple (TT 35-39 EK), and one of his visits to the philosopher in Rhodes was precisely during his campaigns against piracy, on which occasion he actually sat in on his lecture (T35 EK); the two had probably known each other by this time (Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.27f.) and, according to the suggestion by Vogel-Weidemann (1985), p. 65, as early as since 87/6. So, here is the difficulty of the problem - did Plutarch's description of Pompey's solicitous treatment of the defeated pirates directly draw on a Posidonian account of the episode? Or was Pompey's conduct itself based on the Posidonian political philosophy (we may note that the manner of his treatment of the pirates was also known to Latin authors: Vell. 2.32.4-6; Liv. *Per.* 99)? Strasburger himself, *op. cit.*, pp. 50f., was aware of the latter option, but perhaps unaware of the chicken-and-egg circularity of his argument; cf. also Malitz (1983), pp. 167f.; Rawson (1985), p. 106. For the verbatim correspondence between what follows the above Diodoran passage and another on Spartacus (38/9.21), see below.

2) One may occasionally spot stylistic/ linguistic parallels between Diodorus' account of the Slave Wars and Appian's passages in his *Mithridatika*, the only connected narrative on the pirate war of the three authors: e.g., the likening of the band of slaves /pirates to the real army: καταπληκτικὴν εἶχον τὴν πρόσοψιν καὶ πολεμικῶν ἔργων οὐ πόρρω κειμένην (Diod. 34/5.2.29); ἡγουμένων ληστάρχων οἷα πολέμου στρατηγῶν (App. *Mithr.* 92); καθάπερ στρατευμάτων διεσπαρμένων (Diod. 34/5.2.2 = 2.30); μισθοὺς ἐκάλουν στρατιωτικούς (App. *ibid.*); the regal trappings of their organisations: ἐκείθεν αἰρεῖται βασιλεὺς ὁ Εὐνους ... (Diod. 34/5.2.14-16; 2.24; 2.41f.; 36.4.4ff.; 5.1f.; 7); βασιλεῦσι δ' ἤδη καὶ τυράννοις ἢ στρατοπέδοις μεγάλοις ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοιοῦντες (App. *ibid.*); use of captive artisans by the rebel slaves/ pirates: ὅσοις οὐκ ἦν ἡ τέχνη ὄπλα ἐργάζεσθαι, ἐκείνους δὲ δεδεμένους τοῖς ἔργοις ὑπέβαλλεν (Diod. 34/5.2.15); χειροτέχνας τὲ εἶχον ἐπ' ἔργοις δεδεμένους (App. *ibid.*; cf. 96).

3) Strabo (14.5.2; cf. 16.2.19) mentions the involvement of Diodotus Tryphon, a native of Apamea like Posidonius himself (Strabo 16.2.10; Joseph. *AJ* 13.131), in the formation of Cilician piracy (cf. *CAH VII*<sup>2</sup>, p. 366). It is fairly certain that Posidonius had closely traced the activities of this royal usurper of the Syrian throne earlier in the *Histories*: one attested fragment records Tryphon's struggle with the army sent out by Demetrius II Nicator (F226 EK; cf. F54 EK); there are also a few passages in Diodorus' Bk. 33 that deal with his revolt and seizure of the throne, probably all from Posidonius (33.4a; 28; 28a; cf. Joseph. *AJ*, *passim* in 13.131-224 - also Posidonian?); see also Diod. 36.7 on Salvius, the 'king' of the Second Sicilian Slave War, being addressed as Tryphon - according to Appian (Syr. 68) Diodotus Tryphon himself was a slave. Other scattered remarks on pirates in Strabo (e.g. 14.1.32; 2.5; 5.6; 16.2.14), which Strasburger, *op. cit.*, p. 43 n. 34, is prepared to relate with Posidonius, could come from almost anywhere in my view; furthermore, Strabo's working method allows us neither to dissect the complex strata of sources behind such remarks nor to identify their real provenance.

<sup>71</sup> For the traditional rôle of Rhodes in policing the sea, see Strabo, 14.2.5; Plb. 30.31; cf. Malitz (1983), pp. 135f.; Strasburger (1965), p. 50; Scullard (1982<sup>5</sup>), p. 97. Among the attested fragments, there is only one reference to piracy (F104 EK on a Rhodian pirate Icaeus), which has no historical context.



the Eastern Mediterranean, of piracy: a reference to one Agamemnon, a Cilician brigand - presumably a pirate - who, having been released from a Roman prison, fought the Social War in support of the Italians (37.16). Moreover, Strabo describes in detail the extensive engagement of the Cilician pirates in the slave trade since the end of the second century BC, and links up the αἴτιον of the flourishing of their dirty business to the affluence of the Romans after the destruction of Carthage and Corinth (14.5.2; cf. 3.2). We ought not to doubt Posidonius' historical interest in these matters as, correlated with each other, forming the common aetiological background of the grand decadence of the Roman *imperium*, one of the central themes still discernible in Diodorus' earlier 'Posidonian' narrative (cf. 34/5.33; 37.3; see Chapters 3-5); and Strabo's description - unlike those of Plutarch and Appian, which trace the history of Cilician piracy only back to the rise of the Pontic power - is well within the scope of the *Histories*.<sup>72</sup>

These circumstances may justify, though they will not verify, the aforesaid hypothesis on the existence of a Posidonian source even behind the narratives in Appian and Plutarch on the Pirate War. If that proves to be the case, such an account by the philosopher may well have been included in what Strabo terms 'the History of Pompey', whether the latter constituted an independent monograph or a chapter or two of another work. But that is no proof that Diodorus, too, used the same Posidonian source. First of all, there is precious little left of the Roman war with the pirates in Bk. 40 of the *Bibliothēke* to prove (or disprove) any assumption of this kind. Apart from a chance mention of Pompey's victory over the Cilician pirates made in the famous 'copy' of the Pompeian inscription (40.4), we have only one extant fragment on the Pirate War, which deals with the defeat of M. Antonius Creticus in Crete in 72 or 71 (*MRR* 2.123), the despatch of a Cretan embassy to the Senate, the veto by Lentulus Spinther, and the subsequent ultimatum to the Cretans (40.1).<sup>73</sup> But

<sup>72</sup> Malitz (1983), p. 134, attributes the Strabonian passage to the *Histories* without hesitation; yet as Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.905, puts it, any solid 'evidence is lacking'. On the connexion between piracy and the slave trade in the Eastern Mediterranean, see Malitz, *op. cit.*, pp. 164-6 (cf. Diod. 36.3.1).

<sup>73</sup> In this fragment it appears that the excerptor combined two separate accounts, with the opening from Μόρχος Ἀντώνιος το ἐτήριον (or μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα) forming a summary of an earlier (lost) narrative and attached to the main body of the *excerptum* as a heading - not untypical of the working method of the Constantinian excerptors; see Chap. 1, pp. 12f.



these facts, we may note, are curiously ignored altogether by those 'secondary sources' supposedly dependent on Posidonius' account of the war, that is Plutarch, Strabo and Appian's *Mithridatika*.<sup>74</sup> It is in fragments from another work of Appian, the *Sikelika* (6), and from Dio (30-35.F111) that one finds traditions parallel to Diod. 40.1, but neither of them has ever been associated with Posidonius to my knowledge. All these three share some common details and differ in others; they may indeed all go back to the same source, but are too fragmentary to establish any hypothesis on secure grounds.<sup>75</sup> Secondly, and more significant still, evidence from the Diodoran fragments on Pompey's Jewish campaigns and the Catilinarian conspiracy positively suggests that Posidonius is *not* behind Diodorus' narrative, Pompeian or otherwise, of the 70s and 60s.

By an odd coincidence, we happen to know an author Diodorus used in part for his account of the Jewish War, whom the historian cites by name: Hecataeus of Abdera, from whose historical work *περὶ Αἰγυπτίων* Diodorus extracted a long digression on the Jews before opening his narrative of the war proper in Bk. 40, which has been lost in its entirety (40.3 = 3A.264 F6 *FGH*). This Jewish ethnography is far more impartial in its description of the Jews than the earlier excursus on the people (34/5.1), where Diodorus is suspected of having followed Posidonius, and the even more hostile report in Josephus which is explicitly attributed to the philosopher

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Lentulus Spinther was a plebeian tribune in 70/69, according to Walton (1966), p. 274 n. 2 and *CAH IX*<sup>1</sup>, p. 375; but not listed in *MRR* under those years; he may well be identified with P. Cornelius Lentulus Spinther, cos. 57, who served as quaestor in 74 (*MRR*, *ad loc.*); see also *MRR* 3.69.

<sup>74</sup> Plutarch surprisingly fails to mention Antonius Creticus' unsuccessful operations against piracy between 74-72/1, even in his *Life of Antony* (cf. *Ant.* 1: ὁ Κρητικὸς ἐπικληθεὶς Ἀντωνίος, οὐχ οὕτω μὲν εὐδόκιμος ἐν τοῖς πολιτικοῖς ἀνὴρ οὐδὲ λαμπρός; Tac. *Ann.* 12.62); he only reports (*Pomp.* 29; cf. App. *Sic.* 6.2) the Cretan petition to Pompey in 67, when he had virtually finished his campaigns in Cilicia, and the subsequent minor 'civil war' (*CAH IX*<sup>1</sup>, p. 375) between the Pompeian legate L. Octavius and Metellus Creticus, who had been operating on the island as consul and proconsul since 69 (*MRR*, *ad loc.*).

<sup>75</sup> The accounts of Appian (*Sic.* 6.1, excerpted by the *De leg.*), Dio Cassius and Diodorus (which is the most detailed) all concur on the details of the Senate's demands (handover of all the Cretan ships and of the anti-Roman ringleader Lasthenes, and demand for hostages and indemnity); Appian in particular agrees with Diodorus on the number of hostages (300) and the sum of money required (4,000 talents of silver). The Cretan appeal to individual senators, very probably accompanied by some sweeteners (cf. Cic. *Verr.* 2.2.29.76), is mentioned both by Diodorus and, in a somewhat twisted manner, by Dio, yet neglected by Appian. However the chronological order of the Cretan embassy and the Roman declaration of war varies in each author; see Walton (1967), p. 274 n. 3.



(*Contra Ap.* 2.79-80 = F278 EK).<sup>76</sup> Nor is an excursus on Moses and his successors recounted in Strabo (16.2.35-39), yet another Posidonian-suspect as a neighbouring passage contains an attested citation from Posidonius on the Dead Sea (16.2.43-44 = F279 EK), as sympathetic towards the Jews as that of Hecataeus quoted in the *Bibliothèque*. These indications suggest that Posidonius had a version of his own, different from Diod. 40.3, of the history of Judaea. However Diodorus, while being based on that Posidonian version in Bk. 34/5, is now quoting instead from Hecataeus - certainly not from Posidonius' citation of Hecataeus, since it can be shown that our historian drew on Hecataeus more than once in earlier books (1.46.8 = 3A.264 F2 FGH; 2.47.1 = F7 FGH), probably far more extensively than the explicit citations suggest (cf. cf. 3A.264 F25 *Anhang* = Diod. 1.10-98 *passim*).

That illustrates the following point. Between the Moses passages and the Posidonian fragment in Strabo comes a vivid description of Pompey's capture of Jerusalem (16.2.40). Delimitation of the authentic Posidonian citation in these passages has been a matter of controversy, not least thanks to Strabo's uninformative way of dealing with his sources; yet it is still possible that those passages indeed echo a Posidonian account on the history of Judaea and, perhaps, on the Jewish War in the history of Pompey.<sup>77</sup> Diodorus, at any rate, would most likely have used a Posidonian history of Judaea had he also followed the philosopher for the narrative of Pompey's Jewish campaigns. The fact, however, that our historian instead had to draw on Hecataeus on this occasion will show that he never had at hand a Posidonian account of the Jewish campaign as a whole, but used (an)other source(s) for it - no matter whether or not Posidonius actually wrote one like that.<sup>78</sup>

A further clue can be derived from a Posidonian *testimonium* and the two Diodoran fragments on the Catilinarian conspiracy. Cicero famously notes in a letter

<sup>76</sup> Josephus' supposed 'citation' from Posidonius, however, has highly dubious authenticity, and the quasi-parallel in Diodorus (34/5.1), though unattributed, may well reflect more closely what the philosopher actually said of the Jews; see the discussion in Chap. 2, pp. 47f. Yet the fact remains that Diod. 34/5.1 is no less critical of the Jews - for which reason Photius, who extracts the passage, accuses Diodorus of the invention of malicious stories (*Bibliotheca*, 379b.39ff.: καταψευσάμενος κτλ.), the same charge as Josephus threw at Posidonius.

<sup>77</sup> For the problems surrounding these Strabonian passages, see above, note 9.

<sup>78</sup> This has also been pointed out on the same evidence by Theiler, *Erläut.*, p. 97, and Càssola (1982), p. 769.



to Atticus (*Att.* 2.1.2 = T34 EK) that he had sent Posidonius in Rhodes a record (or draft: ὑπόμνημα) of his consulship, asking him to embellish it into more literary form (*ut ornatius de iisdem rebus scriberet*), and was politely declined (*sed etiam plane deterritum*). But we *do* have, among the fragments from Bk. 40, some remnants of Diodorus' narrative on the Catilinarian conspiracy (40.5-5a), the culminating point of Cicero's consulship in 63, an account of which Posidonius refused to write. Furthermore, the disagreements between the respective testimonies to the senatorial session on 8 November in Diodorus (40.5a; cf. *Sall. Cat.* 31.6) and in Cicero's first Catilinarian oration (1.20-21), published in the same year as his letter to Atticus, rule out the possibility that Posidonius later changed his mind and accepted Cicero's request, and that Diodorus was able to use the resultant Posidonian account. For it is wildly unlikely that Cicero, having had his consulship eulogised by the mastery of Posidonius on his own request, would have allowed himself to publish a speech that was to contradict that very work of the *magister* (cf. TT29-31 EK).<sup>79</sup> Nor is it likely at all that Posidonius had published a piece or two on the Catiline incident before Cicero's request - had there been already a Posidonian work on the subject, why should Cicero have asked for another?<sup>80</sup> Thus it follows that Diodorus based at least his account of the Catilinarian conspiracy - and all but certainly everything on the events in these years - on non-Posidonian authority.

Incidentally, the same Diodoran fragments on the Catilinarians demonstrate on what shaky grounds the whole concept of a Posidonian 'narrative pattern' may well

<sup>79</sup> Càssola (1982), p. 769, also notes that '...è molto difficile, che (sc. Posidonio) abbia cambiato idea in seguito', yet without giving a reason. It is still possible that Posidonius did eventually accept Cicero's wish after the publication of the Catilinarian orations; Cicero is found as late as 56 to be making a similar request on his consulship to L. Lucceius (*Fam.* 5.12). Even so, the contrast between Diodorus' presentation on the senatorial session and the first Catilinarian shows that the former could not have been what Cicero had expected from Posidonius, and thus excludes a Posidonian option for the Diodoran passage in question. For an analysis of the discrepancies between Diodorus and Cicero's *In Catilinam*, see below.

<sup>80</sup> According to Jacoby, *Komm.*, p. 155, the *Histories* were completed before 60, the date of Cicero's letter. If Posidonius had already published the 'history of Pompey', too, which would have been doubtless sympathetic towards Pompey and probably encomiastic, it would be only natural that Cicero hoped to have his consulship no less elevated; so Malitz (1983), pp. 28 and 72f.; Strasburger (1963), p. 53; also Rawson (1985), p. 61; but see Theiler, *Erläut.*, pp. 79f. One may be warned, however, that the very existence of such a work on Pompey itself is not beyond dispute. On the personal acquaintance between Cicero and Posidonius, see TT 29-33 EK.



stand, and how hastily scholars have tended to accept these premises. For even a single glance at the fragments concerned reveals the fact that all that has often been assumed to characterise 'Posidonian literary techniques' seems to be present among them: the anecdotal and casual nature of the narrative, the psychological explanation of the course of events, irrational motives presented as the driving force of the actions taken - the conspirators organising insurrection to escape from debt (κατάχρεως γεγονώς), the whole plot disclosed from the mouth of a man deep in love (ἔρωτικῶς) - and so on. Apart from scattered hints in the attested fragments of Posidonius, probably the closest analogy to the Diodoran passages is the earlier 'Posidonian' narrative of the Second Sicilian Slave War, or more precisely, that of the slave revolt in Italy, led by a Roman *eques* Titus Vettius, which preluded the great uprising in Sicily (36.2-2a). Here again, love (36.2.2 = 2a.1: εἰς ἔρωτα παράδοξον ἐνέπεσε; 2a.1: τῷ δὲ ἔρωτι δουλεύων) and money in the form of debt (*loc. cit.*) play the central part of its causal explanation, the whole report carrying an extremely anecdotal touch.<sup>81</sup> If there were not the above Ciceronian testimony left to us, and only the friendship between Cicero and Posidonius known, some scholars would all too readily have claimed that the philosopher wrote for Cicero an independent monograph on the Catilinarian conspiracy; for, they might well have said, its traces could still be seen in the Diodoran fragments (and, for that matter, indeed in Sallust) on the episode, which definitely *sound* Posidonian!

There is a danger, to those working on an author such as Posidonius, whose fame has far exceeded the existing amount of solid material, of overworking a hypothetical 'narrative pattern' to cover anything beyond attested traditions. The case of the Spartacus War has exemplified this tendency, as various Greek sources on the slave revolt too are often thought to belong to this 'narrative pattern' and thus to Posidonius' authorship. The salient bases of this thesis are: 1) The structure and thematic components of the narratives of the revolt in Plutarch (*Crass.* 8-11) and Appian (*BC* 1.116-120) resemble those of the Sicilian Slave Wars in Diodorus; 2) A moral remark Diodorus made in the narrative of the First Slave War, 'nature is self-

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<sup>81</sup> Chap. 5, pp. 176f.; see also Diod. 8.9-10 for similar application of ἔρως to causal explanation.



taught even among slaves, in just return of goodwill and of vengeance (καὶ παρὰ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοδίδακτος ἔστιν ἡ φύσις εἰς δικαίαν ἀπόδοσιν χάριτος τε καὶ τιμωρίας)' (34/5.2.40), recurs in the only extant fragment on Spartacus in the *Bibliothèque*, almost word for word: 'for nature is self-taught even among barbarians, in return of goodwill to benefactors (αὐτοδίδακτος γὰρ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς βαρβάροις ἡ φύσις πρὸς ἀμοιβὴν χάριτος τοῖς εὐεργέταις)' (38/9.21).<sup>82</sup> Yet these grounds are apparently unstable, and methodologically unacceptable. For, while it may indeed be possible that Posidonius' description of the Sicilian Slave Wars was influenced by, if not altogether carbon-copied from, the conditions and circumstances of Spartacus' uprising of his own time (see Chap. 5; cf. Plut. *Crass.* 10.3 on Spartacus' attempt to rekindle the slave war in Sicily), there is no literary evidence on the question of where Posidonius could have recounted the whole process of the latter revolt as it appears in Plutarch and Appian. Furthermore, the conceptual and structural analogy of the narrative of the Sicilian Slave Wars to those of the Spartacus War is no more striking than, say, its resemblance to Sallust's account of the Catilinarian conspiracy (*Cat.* 5.8; 10.1-6; 11.4-12.2; 28.4; 30.2; 31.1-3; 36.1; 37.1-11; 40.3; 56.2-3; cp. also Catiline's speech in 20.2-17 and those of Athenion in F253 EK); and incidentally, it seems almost certain, from the extensive correspondence of particular details which emerges from the extant material (and not a similitude to an abstract 'narrative pattern'), that Sallust's *Histories* were after all the ultimate source for Plutarch and Appian on Spartacus' rebellion (*Hist.* 3.90-106 M.) - as well as on the concurrent civil war in Spain (see below) - transmitted either directly or through Livy (cf. Liv. *Per.* 95-97; Flor. 2.8; Oros. 5.24.1-8; Eutrop. 6.7; Frontin. *Str.* 1.5.20-22).<sup>83</sup>

<sup>82</sup> Strasburger, (1965), p. 44, *felt* that Greek traditions on Spartacus too stem from Posidonius. Verbrugghe (1975), pp. 201-204, *proved* even bolder to attempt, on the model of Strasburger's theory drawn from Cilician piracy, to relate the accounts of the Spartacus War by Plutarch and Appian to his 'Posidonian narrative pattern'; and further to claim that the philosopher associated the revolt with the context of the struggle between Pompey and Crassus, precisely as it is presented in Plutarch's *Crassus* and Appian's *BC*. Maltz (1983), p. 136 n. 12, on the other hand, suggests that Diod. 38/9.21 derived from a single Posidonian excursus looking forward to the Spartacus War, a remark made within his account of the First Slave War; yet this is no more provable (nor indeed more convincing); Strasburger (1965), p. 44, is more cautious on this point; see also Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.905.

<sup>83</sup> There are admittedly some minor disagreements between Plutarch and Appian on the one hand and Livy on the other: e.g., the numerical reduction of the death toll of German and Gallic mercenaries (cf. Liv. *Per.* 97; Oros. 5.24.6; Frontin. *Strat.* 2.5.34) in Plut. *Crass.*



The Diodoran fragment on Spartacus needs little discussion. In the first place, the Stoic notion of 'humanity', to which Diodorus, Sallust, Strabo and later Plutarch were all exposed, was fairly common in the intellectual climate of the Graeco-Roman world since the time of Panaetius. Therefore, any presumably 'Posidonian' resonance in these authors does not necessarily have to be ascribed to Posidonius alone. Secondly, even if Posidonius did possibly have something to say on Spartacus, in whatever context of the *Histories*, or even in a Pompeian history, that could not have been anything more than an afterthought, and hence Diodorus at any rate would have had to rely on other material for the bulk of the narrative of the Spartacus War which is now lost. However, that Diodorus should have transplanted only one or two passing remarks from one source, Posidonius, to another section of his narrative accords ill with his *modus operandi*: conceding that he may at times have consulted more than a single source for a given account, he is yet not known to have been in a habit of making complex mosaic of sources in a way Plutarch, Strabo or Athenaeus often did. So there are easier explanations for the verbal analogy between the two Diodoran passages: one is that both are of Diodorus' own brand of Stoicism. The other, and more plausible one, is that our historian, when he was making his remark on Spartacus, was influenced by the earlier, Posidonian view of slaves as well as of the barbarian Viriathus (33.7.3 = 7.5: αὐτοδίδακτος).<sup>84</sup>

Back to the question of a Posidonian account of Pompey's Eastern campaigns, I shall leave it open as a possibility. However, that does not automatically imply that Diodorus had no choice but to use it. Whereas the account, if it existed, could hardly have been an extension of the *Histories*, it remains possible that it was published as an independent treatise. Posidonius was not only a polymath but, it seems, also a very prolific writer, as is indicated by the numerous book titles for his possible works given by Edelstein-Kidd and Theiler. Among those many writings, however, Athenaeus refers only to the *Histories* (FF51-78 EK) and, to judge from the historical and/or ethnographical nature of the other non-assigned citations (FF226; 240a; 242; 253;

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11.1-3 and App. BC 1.118. On the whole the Livian tradition appears to follow Sallust more faithfully than Plutarch and Appian - misreading or corruption, or rhetorical exaggeration?

<sup>84</sup> It has well been demonstrated, in studies of earlier books of the *Bibliothèque* in Sacks (1990), esp. Chaps. 2 and 4 *passim*, that Diodorus was quite capable of being inspired by his sources' historical /philosophical views and adapting them for his own contexts.

262; 265-267; 283; ?289; ?292 EK), drew solely on the same work; a Posidonian account on Pompey was certainly not known to him.<sup>85</sup> The aforementioned evidence in the *Bibliothèque* clearly suggests that the same is the case with Diodorus as with Athenaeus. Certainly Diodorus, too, read and used Posidonius' *Histories*, but not necessarily his other works. A good parallel can perhaps be found in the *Bibliothèque* itself: Diodorus used Polybius's *Histories* for Bks. 28-32 of his work, but is not known - and is altogether unlikely - to have used the latter's lesser writings, in particular the lost monograph on the Numantine War (Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.2), for which episode he chiefly and probably exclusively relied on Polybius' successor Posidonius. The treatment of Pompey in the *Bibliothèque* is more than favourable, it is true, but that does not, and should not, inherently point to Posidonius - not least because there are, as we shall see, several possible alternatives.

THEOPHANES      From various *testimonia* an assortment of contemporary 'Pompeian writers' is known to us. Diodorus, at least theoretically, could have used any of those authors, although none of them has left enough material for us to say much that is convincing on this question. Predictably most of these men are Latin authors. For example, Pompey's teacher of rhetoric and 'the first freedman who wrote history' according to Nepos, best identified as L. Voltacilius Pilutus among many variants in the MS tradition, published several volumes on the exploits of Pompeius Strabo and his son Magnus (Suet. *Rhet.* 3; cf. Jerome, *Chron. ad ann.* 81). In the higher échelons of the Roman political world, Pompey had on his side L. Lucceius, a political ally and adviser by 49 and probably much earlier, who had completed a history of the Social and Civil Wars by 56 (Cic. *Fam.* 5.12.2); T. Ampius Balbus, another Pompeian and the author of a work that was, it appears, of a historical/biographical nature (Cic. *Fam.* 6.12.3-5) and anti-Caesarean at the least (Suet. *DJ* 77); possibly also L. Scribonius Libo, of the scope of whose annalistic work, however, we can tell little (Cic. *Att.* 13.30.2; 32.3; 44; *Fam.* 6.12); and, above all, M. Terentius Varro, who, apart from being the greatest polymath among Roman authors, had been a leading political adviser to Pompey since 76 and remained, somehow,

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<sup>85</sup> Cf. Kidd., *Comm.*, 1.52f.



‘Pompeian’ even after his friend’s death, although the work that matters in this regard, *De Pompeio* in three volumes, is known only by its title preserved in Jerome’s catalogue (*Ep.* 33.2).<sup>86</sup>

Yet even on the Greek side, Posidonius was not the only historian who could provide Diodorus with pro-Pompeian material. The most natural candidate who comes instantly to everyone’s mind is Theophanes. Now the political profile of this local magnate of Mytilene (T1 *FGH* 2B.188: πολιτικὸς ἀνὴρ; Myt. Mus. No. 15431: λόγιος πρῦτανις) and *protégé* of Pompey (TT1-4; 10a *FGH*), as well as his influence over his Roman patron (TT5a-c; 7; 8a-d *FGH*), have been well publicised by Cicero and others.<sup>87</sup> What is little known, however, is the solid substance of his historical work on Pompey’s military successes, of which all fragments but two are transmitted through the deadly scissors of Strabo.<sup>88</sup> Plutarch cites Theophanes only once, when he refers to the invective (malicious and unfounded, as Plutarch is quick to point out) against Rutilius Rufus by the Pompeian historian (F1 *FGH*). Yet a few parallels between the attested fragments in Strabo on the one hand and Plutarch and Appian on the other are just enough to show that there is much more of Theophanes in the respective narratives by Plutarch and Appian on Pompey’s Pontic and Armenian expeditions in 66-65, either directly or more likely through such an intermediary as Timagenes (see below).<sup>89</sup> From that point follow attempts, with varying degrees of

<sup>86</sup> On Pompey’s political-literary circle, see Rawson (1985), pp. 91f. and 107f.; cf. Schaefer in Vogel-Weidemann (1985), p. 66. For the (possible) scope and contents of these works (all lost), see Lewis (P), pp. 191-203.

<sup>87</sup> For Theophanes’ political career, Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2091-2100. See also Anastasiadis-Souris (1992) for recent epigraphic evidence that underpins Theophanes’ prominence in local politics (and probably aristocratic origin) prior to his affiliation with Pompey: ὁ δᾱμος| Θεοφάνην Ἰροῖτα τὸν λόγιον| πρῶτανιν ἀρέτας ἔνεκα καὶ εὐσεβίας| τᾱς| πρὸς τὸ θῆρον.

<sup>88</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.* 2D.188, p. 617: ‘besonders charakteristisch für die art, wie Strabon Th nur subsidiär heranzieht.’; cf. Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2102ff.

<sup>89</sup> One of the five fragments from Strabo, all of which concern the Caucasus and Armenia, speaks of the Scythian tribes Gelae and Legae, who are said to live between the Amazons and the Albanians (F4 *FGH*). Its original context, lost in Strabo yet easily discernible from Plutarch (*Pomp.* 35) and, for all its rationalising distortion, Appian (*Mithr.* 103), was Pompey’s engagement in 65 with the Caucasian Albanians, who are alleged to have been assisted by the Amazons: νέμονται δὲ τοῦ Καυκάσου τὰ καθήκοντα πρὸς τὴν Ὑρκανίαν θάλασσαν, οὐχ ὁμοροῦσαι τοῖς Ἀλβανοῖς, ἀλλὰ Γέλαι καὶ Λῆγες οἰκοῦσι διὰ μέσου (Plut. *Pomp.* 35); cf. Dio, 37.4-5; Liv. *Per.* 101; Eutrop. 6.14; Zonaras, 10.4 (taken from Plutarch); Jacoby, *Komm.* 2D.188, pp. 617f. Compare also F7 (on Sinoria, a Mithridatic fortress in Lesser Armenia; cf. sections adjacent to F7 in Strabo, 12.3.28) and Plut. *Pomp.* 32.8f. (Sinora) and App. *Mithr.* 101 (Synorex); cf. Dio, 37.7.5 (Symphorion); Amm. Marc.



conviction, to glean more of Theophanes' lost work from unattributed passages in Strabo, Plutarch, Dio and the Livian tradition.<sup>90</sup> However, even if the 'Theophanean tradition' is thus allowed to inflate further with those sometimes nebulous 'traces' of his work in later authors, it still suffers an apparent dearth of visible correspondence with the extant material from the *Bibliothèque*. Yet it now seems opportune to look closely at the Pompeian fragments themselves in Diodorus, and to set them against other traditions which have often been suspected of having had some contact or another with Theophanes.

The first two Diodoran fragments that deal with Pompey clearly show that our historian, like many other authors (Vell. 2.29; Dio, 30-35.F107.1; Liv. *Per.* 85; App. *BC* 1.80; Plut. *Apophth. Pomp.* 1; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 6;), first introduced him to his main narrative in the context of the year 83, when he privately mustered three legions in Picenum to join Sulla's camp (38/9.9-10). Yet Diodorus also traced back the earlier military training, education and conduct of his hero, casting them in the best possible light (38/9.9). On Pompey's self-improvement prior to the Sullan Civil war, favourable comments analogous to those of Diodorus can also be found in Plutarch and Velleius, who, like Diodorus, saw the martial pursuit and simplicity of life as the best attributes of the man.<sup>91</sup> The encomiastic nature of the Diodoran narrative on

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14.7.10 (Sinhorium) - through the intermediary of Timagenes? Mythical tales tucked here and there in Appian's report of the eastern side of the Black Sea (*Mithr.* 101-103) also seem to originate in Theophanes: see F1 (on Titias, mythical hero of the Mariandynians); App. *Mithr.* 103 and Strabo, 11.2.19 (rationalisation of the Golden Fleece); Strabo, 11.4.3 (on the way of life in Caucasian Albania, described as 'Cyclopeian') - the last passage is attributed to οἱ στρατεύσαντες, a phrase often thought to refer to the Mytilenaeans. Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, col. 2122, however, holds reservations about the *Quellenverhältnis* between Theophanes and Appian.

<sup>90</sup> Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2105-2124, yet his methods of delimiting Strabonian passages originating, as he believes, in Theophanes from what he calls 'die Hauptquelle' are not always convincing; Lewis (P), pp. 209-217; Rawson (1985), pp. 108f.; Schaefer in Vogel-Weidemann (1985), pp. 67f. On the Pompeian historian's conscious effort to promote the somewhat forced (partly by his patron himself) parallelism between the two Great Men, Pompey and Alexander, see Plut. *Pomp.* 2.1-2; Sall. *Hist.* 3.88 M.; Rawson, (1985), pp. 105-109; Vogel-Weidemann (1985), pp. 66-68; Lewis (P), pp. 207 and 214.

<sup>91</sup> His practice of the arts of war: τῆς ἐν τοῖς πολεμικοῖς ἔργοις ἀσκήσεως (Diod. 38/9.9); ἄσκησις ἐν ὅπλοις (Plut. *Pomp.* 1.3; cf. 64.1); *bonum ... ingenium singulari rerum militarium prudentia excoluerat* (Vell. 2.29.5); see also Cic. *Leg. Man.* 28; simple diet: διαίτη ... ἐχρήτο λιτῇ (Diod. *ibid.*); σωφροσύνη περὶ δίαιταν (Plut. *Pomp.* 1.3); τῆς δὲ περὶ τὴν δίαιταν εὐκολίας καὶ λιτότητος (*Pomp.* 2.5). Sulla's enthusiastic reaction to the letters dispatched from Pompey announcing his military successes (38/9.10) is unknown outside the *Bibliothèque*; but the traditions agree on Sulla's high appreciation of the support from the young man (Cic. *Leg. Man.* 30; Plut. *Crass.* 6.4; Val. Max. 5.2.9; App. *BC* 1.80; Eutrop.



Pompey's early career is best highlighted by the fragment on his jurisdiction *pro praetore* over Sicily in 82 (38/9.20). Here young Pompey emerges not as the *adulescentulus carnifex* in Valerius Maximus (6.2.8) but as an incorruptible young master of justice comparable to the Mucius Scaevola and the L. Assylius in Diodorus' earlier Bk. 37 (37.5-8), in that an emphasis is nearly identically placed upon the ἀρετή and σωφροσύνη of the governor.<sup>92</sup> Plutarch again agrees with Diodorus on Pompey's humane treatment of Sicilian cities (*Pomp.* 10.2: φιλανθρωπῶς πάσαις ἐχοῖτο; cf. *Apophth. Pomp.* 2-3), adding to it however a clearly apologetic account of his notorious persecution of Carbo and other Marian partisans on the island, an act which had doubtless incurred moral criticism in some quarters (esp. Val. Max. 5.3.5; 6.2.8; App. *BC* 1.96; cf. Val. Max. 9.13.2; Liv. *Per.* 88; Eutrop. 5.8.2).

These three Pompeian fragments from the *Bibliothèque* pertaining to the late 80s (38/9.9-10; 20) share a common tone, bearing as it were characteristics less of a historical narrative than of an encomium (although we must also be cautious of being misled by an impression given from such *excerpts* that are deprived of their original contexts). Plutarch, whose words bear certain resemblance to those of Diodorus, certainly knew Theophanes, probably indirectly. Yet he was even more familiar with Posidonius. The flexible economy of the *Histories* as I have already proposed could have enabled Posidonius to cover at the eleventh hour the first emergence of Pompey in the late 80s, as part of the 'Roman/Italian strands' of his narrative or more likely as an extended excursus, quite independently of his later (hypothetical) monograph, on the leading Roman of his day; and it may simply be that such additional material from the *Histories* was the source of the relevant passages in Diodorus, Plutarch and possibly (through Livy?) Velleius. But Theophanes stands as good a chance of being the source of this material: while there is no evidence, and it had rather better be doubted, that he dealt at any length with Pompey's career before the Pirate War in 67 or even before 66, it would be no surprise if the Pompeian propagandist attached to his work introductory chapters on the upbringing and personal development of

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5.8.2; Auct. *Vir. Ill.* 77.1), with Plutarch dramatically presenting the first rendezvous of the two *imperatores* (Plut. *Pomp.* 8.1-3).

<sup>92</sup> Cf. Chap. 4, pp. 110-114; Chap. 3, note 9.

Pompey as part of the established conventions of the literary genre he chose for his subject-matter.<sup>93</sup>

However, we must also reckon it hardly likely that Plutarch had first-hand contact, if he had one at all, with the source which Diodorus used: the analogies between the two authors are nothing more than seeming resemblance; and the former had at least one different, heavily confused (or distorted) pro-Pompeian source for these years, which overdid the rôle of Pompey by unskillfully associating with him the cause of the army mutiny which killed Cinna (*Pomp.* 5) and shifting from Sulla to him the success of winning over the army of Scipio Asiagenus (*Pomp.* 7) - given, of course, that it was not due to a slip of memory on the part of Plutarch (cf. *Sull.* 28.1-3; *Sert.* 6.1-2). Diodorus' source, on the other hand, correctly ascribed the second incident to Sulla (38/9.16; App. *BC* 1.85-86 and 95; Liv. *Per.* 85; Vell. 2.25.2; Flor. 2.9.19; Eutrop. 5.7.4; ?Dio, 30-35.F107.2-3; cf. Cic. *Phil.* 12.27; 13.2). Moreover, as regards Diodorus' last passage on Pompey's proprætorship in 82, he is surprisingly the only reporter of the 'provincial benefits' of his Sicilian administration in any substantial sense outside Cicero's personal testimonies (*Verr.* 2.2.113; 3.42), a fact which leaves open the plain possibility that our historian himself, already born at the time on the island, may have drawn this information from his own memory and/or local traditions.<sup>94</sup> Thus an attempt at source detection for these Diodoran fragments, as well as any parallel traditions to them, is bound to fail to go beyond a mere conjecture, with no solid evidence to support it.

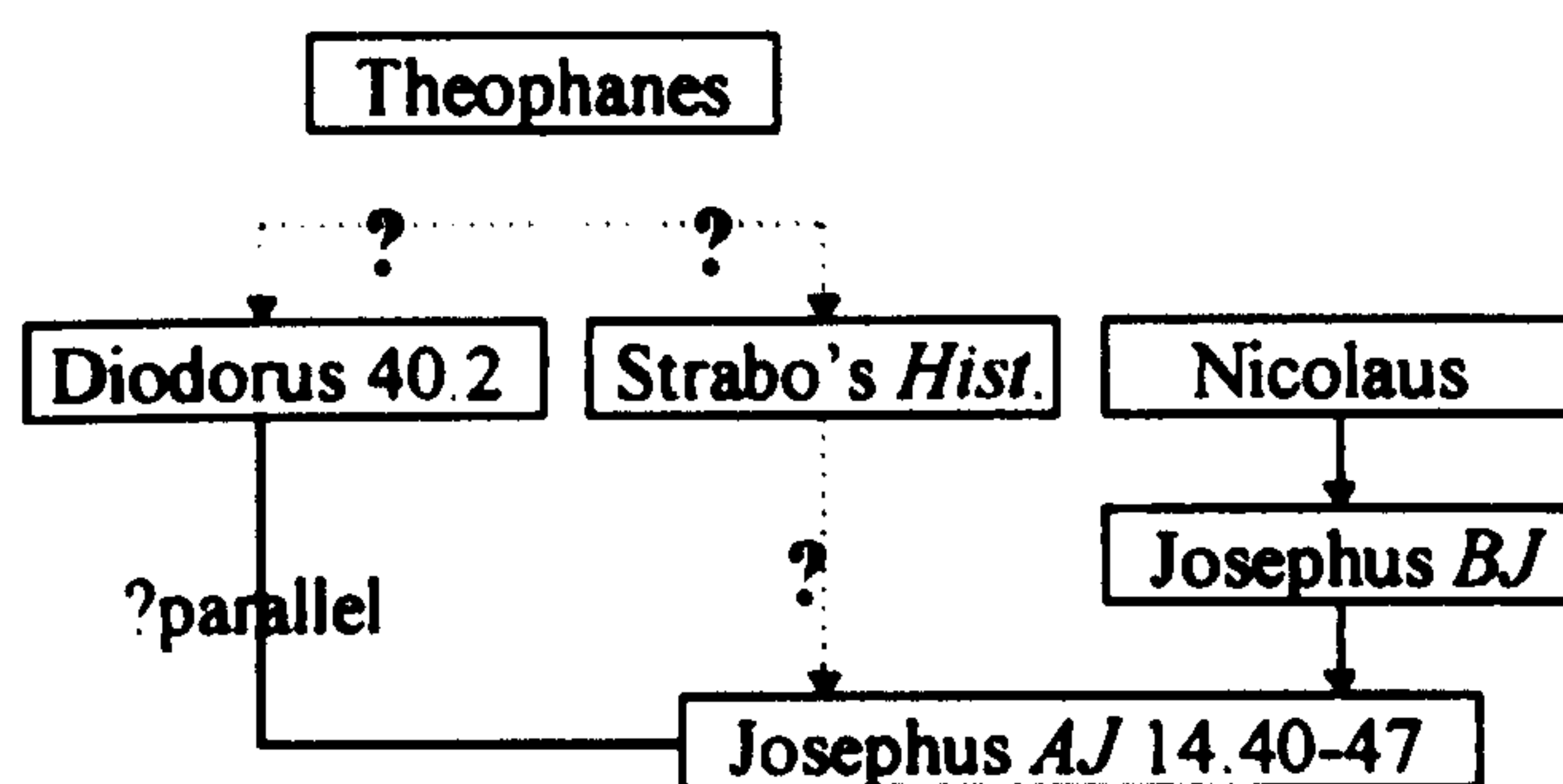
All the portions of Diodorus' text that presumably dealt with the best days of Pompey during the 70s and the first half of the 60s are lost, save for the two fragments on the assassination of Sertorius in 72 (37.22a) and on the beginning of the Roman campaigns in Crete in 69 (40.1), which may (or indeed may not) have been recounted in connexion with Pompey's Spanish and Pirate Wars respectively. In the

<sup>93</sup> See Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2125f., on the (potential) scope of Theophanes' work. Malitz (1983), pp. 406f., takes these three fragments of Diodorus as 'ein gutes Beispiel für Poseidonios' Huldigung' to Pompey, but his reasoning (*loc. cit.*, n. 394-395) seems extremely weak.

<sup>94</sup> Not surprisingly, we know precisely neither when Diodorus was born nor when he died. Two separate periods - sometime before 90 or before 80 BC - have so far been suggested as the approximate date of his birth: see Spoerri (1991), pp. 317-318. For the originally 'Pompeian inspiration' of the whole project of the *Bibliothèque*, see below, note 100.



extant Diodoran tradition Pompey is next found as late as 63 to be at his council in Damascus with the two rival claimants to the Jewish throne, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, and other Jewish leaders (40.2). There happens to be a near-parallel tradition to this fragment in Josephus' *Jewish Antiquities* (14.40-47; cf. *BJ* 1.131-132; Zonaras, 5.6, from Josephus). For his narratives of Pompey's war with Aristobulus in 63, Josephus, as he often did elsewhere, closely followed Nicolaus of Damascus, both in Bk. 1 of the *Jewish War* and in Bk. 14 of his later work *Antiquities* (see *FGH* 2A.90). Yet in the *Antiquities* he inflated his earlier account by adding some new material, not always with skill, and it is among these expanded sections that we find the passage which recounts the same episode as Diodorus. From this fact alone has followed hypothesis after hypothesis, amounting to a complex stratification of supposed sources as shown in the following table.<sup>95</sup>



Josephus' new material included Strabo's lost *Histories* (FF4; 6; 7; 11-18 *FGH* 2A.91, all from Joseph. *AJ*), and certainly he cites Strabo in the same context, though chronologically misplaced, of the

delegation sent from Aristobulus to Pompey in the spring of 63 (*AJ* 14.34-36 = F14 *FGH* 2A.91). Therefore this hypothetical tree of source transmission is still, perhaps, acceptable up to the point of extending the 'Strabonian tradition' further to cover the passage in question, though not explicitly attributed, on Pompey's dealings with the Jews. However, again we lack final proof - it may rather be that, in the process of expanding his narrative, Josephus simply picked up more details from Nicolaus, including the passage in question, which he had earlier failed to cover in the *Jewish*

<sup>95</sup> So Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2124f. (originally from his *Der jüdische Historiker Flavius Josephus*, 1920). But it still remains questionable how far to extend forwards a 'citation' from the author of a lost work, Strabo in this case, beyond the citation proper (*AJ* 14.34-36) and where to delimit it; for a criticism of the Laqueur thesis, see Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.91, p. 292 and 2D.188, p. 615. Laqueur, *loc. cit.*, nevertheless goes on further to propose that both Diodorus and Josephus-Strabo derive from Theophanes; suspected also by Lewis (P), pp. 215f., yet leaving open the possibility of a second-hand transmission of Theophanes (through Posidonius or Timagenes) to the two authors.

*Wars*. Furthermore, besides Nicolaus and Strabo, he also acknowledges his use of Livy somewhat later (14.68).

The above theory becomes markedly more precarious when it comes to assuming that the Diodoran fragment and Josephus share a common source - for they agree really only in general outline - and fatally dubious when naming it as Theophanes.<sup>96</sup> It is true that both passages in Diodorus and Josephus will in all probability go back to material, if not of a Jewish provenance (Josephus' earlier source, Nicolaus, was a friend of the house of Herod), then originating in Pompey's war headquarters in the East, from such as Theophanes among others. However, in traditions that can be said with more credibility to have had some contact with Theophanes, the Jewish appeal to Pompey's arbitration, or even the struggle between the two royal contenders, feature conspicuously little if at all, thus allowing no profitable comparison (Plut. *Pomp.* 39.2; App. *Mithr.* 106; *Syr.* 50; Dio, 37.15.2f.; Livian traditions in Flor. 1.40.30; Oros. 6.6.2; Eutrop. 6.14.2; *Liv. Per.* 102; Jerome, (*Chron. ad ann.* 67).

The more interesting, and potentially most promising, Pompeian material in our quest for Theophanes is the famous ἀντίγραφον of the dedicatory inscription of the *res gestae Pompeii Magni*, to be found among the last fragments of the *Bibliothēke* (40.4). The primary purpose of setting up such an inscription in Asia was in all probability to promote the figure of Pompey as saviour and protector of the *Griechentum* in the Hellenistic East, a task which would easily be expected from a Greek-speaking client with political expertise such as Theophanes. Hence Theophanes' authorship of either or even both of the original inscription and its 'copy (ἀντίγραφον)' recorded by Diodorus has been suspected.<sup>97</sup> This hypothesis may

<sup>96</sup> For one thing, in the *Antiquities* Pompey censures Aristobulus for his violence (14.46), whereas in the *Bibliothēke* it is Hyrcanus whom he condemns for the παρανομία of the Jews and the ἀδικήματα towards the Romans. Judged from the course of events before and afterwards, Josephus' version appears to be transmitting a more authentic story despite Diodorus' chronological proximity, relative and absolute (contemporary!), to the incident (cf. Dio, 37.15.2f.; Flor. 1.40.30; Oros. 6.6.2ff.); yet it remains unanswered what has given rise to the deviation in Diodorus. Nor in their language the two passages bear much affinity to each other.

<sup>97</sup> Schaefer in Vogel-Weldemann (1985), pp. 68-69; Lewis (P), p. 98 n. 60. It is well demonstrated by Vogel-Weldemann (1985), pp. 57-64, that ἀντίγραφον here does not mean 'a translation' (i.e. from Latin) but simply 'a copy'; and that therefore this inscription was not a Greek version of one of those presented at Rome on Pompey's triumph in 61 (Plin. *NH*



indeed turn out to be more than a shadowy conjecture. The passage explicitly asserts that Pompey extended the limits of the *imperium* to the limits of the Earth (τὰ ὅρια τῆς ἡγεμονίας τοῖς ὅροις τῆς γῆς προσβιάσας). The same thesis, coined in a more Alexander-like fashion, recurs in a passage of Plutarch where Theophanes' authorship is strongly suspected: that Pompey was possessed by τις ἔρως καὶ ζῆλος to reach the Red Sea, in order to bring his victories into touch with the circuit of the inhabited world in the form of the Ocean (*Pomp.* 38: ὥς τῷ περιῖόντι τὴν οἰκουμένην πανταχόθεν Ὠκεανῷ προσμῖξειε νικῶν).<sup>98</sup> Further on, Plutarch, in his account of Pompey's pompous triumph in 61 - an occasion which Theophanes could not have omitted to record if his work indeed reached that point - again states that he seemed to have included the inhabited world in his three triumphs (45: ἐκεῖνος ... τρόπον τινὰ τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐδόκει τοῖς τρισὶν ὑπῆχθαι θριάμβοις; cf. Vell. 2.40.4: *quot partes terrarum orbis sunt, totidem faceret monumenta victoriae suae*; App. *Mithr.* 17.121: Αἴγυπτος ἐς περίοδον τῆς ἐντὸς θαλάσσης ἔτι ἔλειπεν; Dio, 37.21.2; Eutrop. 6.16). Yet due caution is necessary, since Theophanes was probably not the only proponent of the theme of the identification of the boundaries of the Empire with the Oceanic limits of the οἰκουμένη. Cicero's words may well indicate that a similar topos was already on the lips of the Romans, quite irrespective of the publication of Theophanes' work (cf. Cic. *Balb.* 9 and 16; *Sest.* 129).<sup>99</sup> And indeed, Diodorus himself is found echoing the same Pompey-Alexander theme in his proem to the entire work, when he speaks of 'the supremacy of this city (sc. Rome), which mightily

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7.97-98; 37.11-18; App. *Mithr.* 117; Plut. *Pomp.* 45; cf. Dio, 37.21.2) with a dedication made to Minerva (Plin. *NH* 7.97), but was an actual copy of a dedicatory inscription set up in the Greek East, the unnamed goddess mentioned (ἡ θεός) probably being Artemis of Ephesus (cf. App. *Mithr.* 116). See Lewis (P), pp. 218f., on Theophanes' historical work as meant to address to the Greek readership; cf. Anastasiadis-Souris (1992), pp. 380ff.

<sup>98</sup> See above, note 89.

<sup>99</sup> The publication of Theophanes' history of Pompey cannot be precisely dated. In 62 Cicero gave him an epithet *scriptorem rerum suarum* (sc. *Pompei*) (*Arch.* 24 = T3a FGH 2B.188), and it probably shows that his work was already in progress and known to Cicero. However this statement cannot be taken as a sign of it already completed or published by that year, despite Jacoby, *Komm.* 2D.188, pp. 615f., followed by Vogel-Weidemann (1985), p. 69, since Theophanes had continuously been accompanying Pompey in the East until his return to Rome in 62; see Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, col. 2215; Lewis (P), pp. 216f.



extends to the ends of the inhabited world (ἡ γὰρ ταύτης τῆς πόλεως ὑπεροχή, διατείνουσα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὰ πέρατα τῆς οἰκουμένης)'(1.4.3).<sup>100</sup>

On the whole, therefore, evidence is rather meagre in support of Diodorus' first-hand use of Theophanes. Certainly some or other Pompeian items in the *Bibliothèque* may well ultimately originate in him, but just as there is no effective means to rebut such a hypothesis, so is there no effective means to prove it. For all the fragments and passages that can be attributed with some confidence to Theophanes deal with Pompey's share of the Third Mithridatic War alone, which is altogether missing from the extant tradition of the *Bibliothèque* except for the somewhat bombastic enumeration of his exploits during his Eastern command in the above inscription.<sup>101</sup> This plain fact dictates that the Mytilenaeon after all cannot as it stands be a particularly cogent alternative to Posidonius as a source for Diodorus. Furthermore, it is not simply a question of choosing either Posidonius and Theophanes, despite the past debates that have tended to take place around this dichotomy.<sup>102</sup> For we must also reckon with those whom Strabo (11.2.14) names 'the

<sup>100</sup> It is generally agreed that Diodorus set out upon his programme of composing the *Bibliothèque* around 80/59 (the period of his stay at Egypt) at the latest: Oldfather (1933), pp. vi-xi; Rubincam (1987), pp. 324ff.; Sacks (1990), pp. 161 and 167f.; against Zecchini (1978), pp. 19f., who predates the beginning of his project to c. 75; for the Diodoran passages relevant to the dates of his composition of the *Bibliothèque*, see Rubincam, *op. cit.*, pp. 322f. (Fig. 3). The fact that the beginning of Diodorus' project nearly coincides with Pompey's triumph in 61 may well justify the suggestion by Oldfather, *op. cit.*, pp. xif., and Rubincam, *op. cit.*, p. 327, that it was Pompey's achievement of bringing the whole Mediterranean world into a single entity which gave our historian the initial stimulus to embark on writing a universal history; see also Strogetsky (1982), p. 101.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. also Diod. 40.1.a-b (the rivalry between the two Seleucid princes and their alliance with Arab dynasts); in Diodorus' lost narrative the end of the house of the Seleucids at Antioch may have been intertwined with Pompey's reorganisation of Syria in 64 (see Justin. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 40.2.3-5), although the more probable context of the two Diodoran fragments was either on its own or, with an analogy to Dio (36.17.3), the disorders at the final stage of Lucullus' Mithridatic campaigns (cf. Malalas, 9.21.225; Justin. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 40.2.2).

<sup>102</sup> Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2124f.; Strasburger (1965), p. 43; Mazzarino (1966), p. 412; Vogel-Weidemann (1985), pp. 68f.; cf. Jacoby, *Komm.*, 2D.188, p. 616, for his criticism of Laqueur. Mazzarino, *ibid.*, rejects Diodorus' use of Theophanes on the basis that the latter had slandered Rutilius Rufus (F1 FGH 2B.188), whom Diodorus had praised in the preceding book (37.5.1). This is far from convincing. Rutilius depicted Cn. Pompeius Strabo as an utter villain in his semi-autobiographical work (F5 Peter), whereas Posidonius exalted his son Magnus and may even have written an encomium of him; and yet this fact did not prevent the philosopher from using Rutilius' work as a main source for the *Histories* (as Mazzarino himself is well aware). By the same token, why should Diodorus not have allowed himself to use Theophanes only because he was critical of Rutilius? Vogel-Weidemann, *op. cit.*, p. 69, also strongly favours Posidonius as the direct source for the Diodoran narrative of



historians of the Mithridatic Wars (οἱ ... τὰ Μιθριδατικά συγγράψαντες)' - and who may, besides Theophanes, include Teucer of Cyzicus (*FGH* 3A.274), Hypsicrates of Amisus (*FGH* 2B.190), Heraclides of Magnesia (Diog. Laert. 5.94), or even that freedman of Sulla, Cornelius Alexander 'Polyhistor' (*FGH* 3A.273), whose various geographical and historical treatises, largely compilation works, may have contained some contemporary references to the Mithridatic Wars - and, last but not least, those whose names we may simply not know. Here one is reminded that Pompey was surrounded by a large clientèle comprising Greek-speaking foreigners and freedmen, all of whom were capable of, and had every reason for, writing encomia of their *patronus* in Greek: the freedman Demetrius of Gadara (Plut. *Pomp.* 2; 40; *Cat. Min.* 13; Cic. *Att.* 4.11; Dio, 39.38.6); the grammarian Pompeius Lenaeus, yet another freedman (Plin. *NH* 15.127f.; 25.63; Gell. *NA* 16.2; Suet. *Gram.* 2; 15); and Pompeius Geminus (Dion. Hal. *Ep. ad Pomp. Gem.*).<sup>103</sup> Indeed Cicero also mentions several Siceliot Greeks - compatriots of Diodorus (cf. 38/9.20) - who were enfranchised by Magnus (*Verr.* 2.2.23 and 102; Sex. Pompeius Chlorus; 2.2.102; Cn. Pompeius Theodorus; 2.4.48; Cn. Pompeius Philo). Such enfranchised Sicilians could potentially have included men of literary talent.

All said, we yet run into an awkward question. To whatever authors, Theophanes or 'the historians of the Mithridatic Wars', each Pompeian episode in the *Bibliothèque* may ultimately go back, did Diodorus use them *directly*? All the potential

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Pompey's Eastern campaigns (contrary to the preference for Theophanes by Schaefer, whose manuscripts form the kernel of her article). Her argument, however, for the most part stems from uncritical acceptance of Strasburger's thesis, and hence cannot stand any first-hand examination of the evidence.

<sup>103</sup> Admittedly none of the few surviving fragments of Teucer Cyzicenus seem to come from τὰ Μιθριδατικῶν προξένων βιβλία in five books (T1 *FGH* 3A.274), and Heraclides of Magnesia is known only by his name through Diogenes Laertius (q.v.); for Alexander 'Polyhistor', see Wiseman (1979), pp. 160f. A few more writers can be enumerated who treated the Third Mithridatic War in Greek but who, on the basis of the attested nature of their works, could least plausibly have been Diodorus' sources for his Pompeian narrative: the notoriously anti-Roman Metrodorus of Scepsis (*FGH* 2B.184); the poet Licinius Archias on the exploits of Lucullus in the war (in verse!) (Cic. *Arch.* 21; *Att.* 1.16); an Aesopus, Μιθριδάτου ἀναγνώστης (*Sud.*), who wrote an encomium of the King (*FGH* 187a). Apollonides, whom Strabo often cites alongside Posidonius and Theophanes for expertise on the areas east of the Black Sea (7.4.3; 11.13.2; 11.14.4), was a geographer (author of the *Περίπλους τῆς Εὐρώπης*) and hence would not count among οἱ τὰ Μιθριδατικά συγγράψαντες. On Pompey's patronage of Lenaeus and Pompeius Geminus, see Rawson (1985), pp. 72f., 104 and 107.



sources enumerated above, including even Posidonius should his Pompeian history have ever existed, would presumably have been of a monographic (and possibly biographic) nature by definition, hence they would certainly have failed to cover all or even most of the events that Diodorus, a 'universal historian', had to include in his account of the post-Sullan decades. The exploits of Pompey, although they may have greatly dominated the central stage of the narrative, were clearly not the only topics he dealt with in the last books of his *Bibliothēke*. Our historian of course may simply have consulted a separate source for non-Pompeian material from the author(s) who provided the Pompeian material. Yet given the generally accepted - and in large measure correct - assumption that he tended to lean on one single principal source at a time, it seems more sensible to speculate the possibility that they were one and the same - and to turn to the question of the availability to him of such a comprehensive work.

As it happens, three authors are known to have written universal  
TIMAGENES history for the period concerned, all three roughly around the time when Diodorus was composing his: Timagenes of Alexandria (*FGH* 2A.89), Nicolaus of Damascus (*FGH* 2A.90) and Strabo (*FGH* 2A.91). Nicolaus and Strabo were obviously writing too late to have been used by Diodorus as his sources. Thus the simple process of elimination leaves us with Timagenes, a war-captive from Alexandria (T1) and later an intimate of Augustus' literary entourage, whose *temeraria urbanitas* however was to cause him his estrangement from the Princeps and embarrassing recourse to Asinius Pollio for protection, with whom the historian had earlier quarrelled (TT2-3; cf. T4; Plut. *Mor.* 68B, *Quom. Ad.* 27). The notoriety of this fascinating career, however, is not matched by the poor extent of the surviving material from the universal history he is known to have written under the unique title Βασιλῆς (F1).<sup>104</sup> We know at least that his universal history covered a range of topics wide enough to include prehistoric Asia Minor (F1), Alexander's successors (FF3; 4; 6; 9) and possibly Alexander himself (F3), Judaea (FF4-6) and Celtic lands (FF2; 7;

<sup>104</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C, p. 220: 'Von T ist mehr die rede, als nach den wenigen fragmenten zu erwarten wäre'; Laqueur, *RE Timagenes*, col. 1071: 'Mensch und Werk entziehen sich ... jedem Zugriff.'



11), extending to a period as far down as 58-55 at the earliest (F9). Thus, theoretically, it would certainly have provided all that Diodorus needed for the period after Posidonius

Needless to say, the question of Timagenes' possible influence in the *Bibliothēke* primarily depends upon the likelihood of the availability of his work to Diodorus. Diodorus is often classified as a historian of the Caesarean period, and Timagenes as an 'Augustan historian', so that Diodorus is readily taken to be earlier than Timagenes. However, a closer examination of Timagenes' career in Rome, which is rather better attested than his work, does not necessarily justify this chronological convention. Timagenes was brought to the imperial city by A. Gabinius ἐπὶ Πομπηίου τοῦ Μεγάλου (TT1-2). His capture can certainly be assigned to 55, when Gabinius, in line with the wishes of Pompey according to some, suppressed the Alexandrian insurgents and restored Ptolemy Auletes to the Egyptian throne (Dio, 39.55.1-3; 42.2.4; Cic. *Pis.* 48-50; *Rab. Post. passim*; Plut. *Ant.* 3; Joseph. *BJ* 1.175-177; *AJ* 14.98-100; Val. Max. 9.1. ext.6; Liv. *Per.* 105). If we then attempt to accommodate the *testimonium* of the Elder Seneca (T2: *ex captivo cocus, ex coco lecticarius, ex lecticario usque in amicitiam Caesaris...*) to that of the Suda (T1: ἐπὶ τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ Πομπηίου), the ex-captive would probably have become the head of a school of rhetoric around 50; even if we discard the Suda's faulty synchronisation, he will already have acquired the post around the time when Diodorus himself arrived at Rome in the mid-40s, although Timagenes was perhaps slightly younger (cf. T1: μετέπειτα ἦμα Kaiκίλω). Furthermore, Timagenes was already connected with prominent Romans, including Antony, by 39 or at the latest by the start of the second term of the Triumvirate, as can be discerned from Plutarch's passage set against the historical context of the first half of the 30s (T5: Ἀλεξᾶς ὁ Λαοδικεύς, γνωρισθεὶς μὲν ἐν Ῥώμῃ διὰ Τιμαγένους ... γενόμενος δὲ τῶν Κλεοπάτρας ἐπ' Ἀντώνιον ὀργάνων τὸ βιαιότατον καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ὀκταουίας ἱσταμένων ἐν αὐτῷ λογισμῶν ἀνατροπῆς).<sup>105</sup>

<sup>105</sup> For the life of Timagenes, see also Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.88, pp. 222f.; Laqueur, *RE Timagenes*, cols. 1063f. (partly conjectural); Bowersock (1965), pp. 125f.; Sordi (1982), pp. 775-777. In contemporary literature Timagenes is last seen in or shortly before 20 BC, when he is mentioned in one of Horace's *Epistles* addressed to Maecenas (*Ep.* 1.19.15-16).



All these chronological indications well predate Diodorus' work, which on the most likely reckoning was published around 30.<sup>106</sup> In fact, the name of Timagenes has sometimes been whispered as an alternative source for Diodorus, and for this reason it is all the more important to examine the chronology of Timagenes' literary activities.<sup>107</sup> Yet establishing the date of the composition, let alone publication, of his work *περὶ βασιλέων* turns out to be problematic. Almost certainly Timagenes cited Sallust's *Histories* in his work (cf. Amm. Marc. 15.12.6), and therefore it cannot at the earliest predate the mid-30s. A few more indications can be derived from two passages, from the Elder and Younger Seneca respectively. According to the Elder Seneca, Timagenes burned *historias rerum ab illo* (sc. Augustus) *gestarum* after he was turned out of Augustus' household (T2). The Younger Seneca, on the other hand, states that Timagenes recited his *historiae* which he had written *afterwards* (*quas postea scripserat*) and further adds: *et libros acta Caesaris Augusti continentis in igne posuit* (T3). Yet the latter *testimonium*, taken at face value, is apparently awkward, since if Timagenes wrote those *historiae* after his rupture from Augustus, he would hardly have included in them books which contained the deeds of his former patron and which he had to destroy. Thus the most economical interpretation, in my view, is that the *historiae rerum ab illo gestarum* in the first passage indeed constituted part of his larger history 'on the Kings', which as a whole was already in progress while he was still enjoying the favour of the Princeps; but that the work was published after the quarrel, with the books relevant to Augustus omitted.<sup>108</sup>

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However, it is not certain that he was still active as a rhetorician or had retired to Pollio's villa, nor even whether he was still alive by that time.

<sup>106</sup> From the start of the project around 60/59 (see above, note 100) Diodorus spent thirty years researching and composing his *Bibliothēke* (1.4.1) - hence a *terminus ante quem* of 30 can be obtained; see Oldfather (1933), pp. x-xi; Zecchini (1978), pp. 15 and 18-20, although he disagrees on the date of the beginning of Diodorus' research; Rubincam (1987), p. 324; Sacks (1990), pp. 161-168; Spoerri (1991), pp. 317f. (cf. p. 318 n. 26 and 27). On the other hand, Jerome's entry under the year 49 '*Diodorus Siculus Graecae scriptor historiae clarus habetur*' (*Chron. ad ann. 49*) is clearly premature; the possible cause of this anachronism is well explained by Sacks (1990), pp. 173-175.

<sup>107</sup> E.g. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.309; Lewis (P), p. 215.

<sup>108</sup> Pace Bowersock (1965), p. 125, and Sordi (1982), p. 777, who interpret the passage to mean that Timagenes composed *historias rerum ab illo gestarum* before his rupture with Augustus, whereas the history *περὶ βασιλέων* was written as a separate work after the incident. Yet *libros acta Caesaris Augusti continentis* seems to me to indicate that, if his Augustan work was conceived at the outset as a monograph, then it had already been subsumed by a larger project of a universal history by the time of his expulsion.



The expulsion of Timagenes from Augustus' house (TT2-3; Plut. *Mor.* 68B, *Quom. Ad.* 27), which probably also caused his having to leave his school of rhetoric (TT1; 4), cannot be precisely dated. Yet assuming that the passages from the two Senecas faithfully reflect the circumstances of the rupture depicted by their source - which may possibly be the enigmatic biography of the historian by Evagoras (T11; *RE Euagoras von Lindos* 12) - we can surmise that it took place after Octavian's consolidation of power: therefore certainly after Actium, and preferably in the early 20s or even after 27. On the other hand, the work was already known to Strabo before the completion of his *ἱστορικὰ ὑπομνήματα* (cf. F5), the publication of which is often assigned to the mid-20s. On the whole, therefore, the evidence for the publication of Timagenes' work seems to point to the first-half or the middle of the 20s - that is, somewhat later than the publication of Diodorus' *Bibliothēke*.<sup>109</sup> Both the lifetime and the literary floruit of Timagenes fell, as it appears, between the generations of Diodorus on the one hand and Strabo and Nicolaus on the other, a period from Octavian to Augustus.

Of course, it is dangerous to construct a hypothesis on the basis of a chronology obtained from mere inference. However, an examination of Diodorus' actual text and the fragments of Timagenes' work indicates more clearly that our historian did not use Timagenes, whether or not the latter's *Βασιλεῖς* was chronologically available to him. Admittedly, the complete absence of parallel material in the last three books of Diodorus and the attested fragments of Timagenes excludes a direct comparison between the two authors for the period that matters most; and for this reason attention must be re-directed to earlier passages of the *Bibliothēke* which offer some basis of comparison. Fortunately we do have such material in Diodorus'

<sup>109</sup> The availability of Timagenes' work before 29, the date opted for by Bowersock (1965), p. 126, seems somewhat too early, even if Strabo's *Historical Notes* saw their completion by the mid-20s; *RE Strabon von Amaseia* (3), col. 90, set the date of Strabo's historical work between 27-25, while Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.91, p. 29, preferred a much later date (after 20 BC). If Livy's polemic against *levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent* (T9) was even partly provoked by such comments in Timagenes' work, that might push its likely date of publication further downwards and place it in the historical context of the second half of the 20s, when the restitution of the Roman *signa* lost to Parthia in 53 (Carrhae), 40 and 36, was being negotiated (Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 42.5.10-12; cf. 41.1.7; *RG* 29.2; Ovid, *Fast.* 5.579-596; Vell. 2.91.1; Dio, 54.8.1-4; Suet. *DA* 21); for the debates in regard to Livy's *levissimi ex Graecis*, see below.



ethnographical account of the Gauls in Bk. 5 (5.25-32), since the longest of the extant fragments of Timagenes presents a comparable account on the origin and history of the people (Amm. Marc. 15.9.2-8 = F2 *FGH*; cf. Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.* 43.3.4-4.1).<sup>110</sup> We have already observed that Diodorus' version, with its close affinities with the Posidonian fragments in Athenaeus and Strabo (in addition to many unattributed passages in these authors and in Caesar's *BG*), can for the most part be regarded as a close reproduction of Posidonius' lost Celtic ethnography. However, even more noticeable are some minor differences in detail (e.g. Diod. 5.28.4 and F67 EK on the eating manners of the Gauls), and the hugely dissimilar presentation of material and language in Diodorus to those attested fragments. Hence a suggestion has been made that Diodorus' use of another source, such as Timagenes, may possibly account for those differences.<sup>111</sup>

In fact, there are a number of correspondences that emerge from the relevant passages of Diodorus and Ammianus as well as Strabo, who like Ammianus also had direct access to Timagenes (FF 5; 11; 12). Of these agreements, the most significant is the unanimity the three authors show in regard to the spiritual aspect of the Celtic society, which particularly points to the presence of an informed common source: the tripartite division of the intellectual order of the Gauls into the Druids (*dryidae* in Amm.), the Diviners (οὐάταις in Strabo, *euhages* in Amm. and μόνταις in Diod.) and the Bards (F2 = Amm. Marc. 15.9.8; Diod. 5.31.2-5; Str. 4.4.4); the Druidic doctrines which teach the immortality of the soul, with reference to Pythagoras in both

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<sup>110</sup> Justin's epitome of Pompeius Trogus, *ad loc.*, may possibly supply the lost context of the Celtic excursus in Timagenes' original work; cf. Ogilvie (1965), pp. 701f.; but see also Sordi (1982), pp. 785ff. and 793, who proposes Timagenes' repetition of the same 'Hellenocentric' themes in different contexts. The suggestion that this ethnographic excursus accompanied a Timagenean account of Caesar's Gallic campaigns (Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.88, pp. 222 and 225, yet with hesitation) is less compelling. On the other hand, the once-held view that the *Historiae Philippicae* of Pompeius Trogus were in fact a slavish reproduction in Latin of Timagenes' βασιλεῖς (see Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.88, pp. 220f.; Laqueur, *RE Timagenes*, cols. 1065f., referring to Gutschmid, 1882) has somewhat receded and given way to a less extreme position, which favours a 'multi-source theory' (including Posidonius) for the first-ever universal history written in Latin; Malitz (1983), p. 56; *OCD*<sup>3</sup>, s. v. 'Pompeius Trogus'. The question of Trogus' dependency on Timagenes (and its extent) is beyond the scope of the current research; this hypothesis has been re-invigorated by Sordi (1982), *passim*.

<sup>111</sup> On the relationship between Diodorus' Celtic ethnography and Posidonius, see Chap. 2, pp. 43-47. Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.309, suggests that Timagenes cannot be ruled out as an alternative source for Diodorus.



Diodorus and Ammianus (F2 = Amm. Marc. *loc. cit.*; Diod. 5.28.5-6; Str. 4.4.4; cf. Caes. BG 6.14).<sup>112</sup> Ammianus' citation of Timagenes proper is confined to the history of the Gauls alone, but it is nonetheless virtually certain to identify with him also the anonymous source for the passage that follows on the character of the Gauls (15.12 = F15 *Anhang*), where Ammianus continues to agree with Diodorus: the tall stature of the Gauls (Diod. 5.28.1; Amm. Marc. 15.12.1); love of quarrels (Diod. 5.28.5; Amm. Marc. *loc. cit.*; cf. Str. 4.4.2; 4.6); vigour in battles (Diod. 5.29.1-3; Amm. Marc. 15.12.3); the harshness of their voices (Diod. 5.31.1; Amm. Marc. 15.12.2); the manliness of women (Diod. 5.32.2; Amm. Marc. 15.12.1); and, above all, their notorious drunkenness (Diod. 5.26.3; Amm. Marc. 15.12.4). Yet how much can we take these items as products of Timagenes' own ethnological investigations? Most of those 'Celtic' themes, both serious and frivolous, had rather become very much part of a fossilised cliché by the end of the first century BC (cf. Just. *Epit. Pomp. Trog.*

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<sup>112</sup> Laqueur, *RE Timagenes*, cols. 1069-1071, criticised the hypothesis that the immediate source for Strabo's Celtic ethnography in Bk. 4 was in fact Timagenes, who had already incorporated the accounts of Posidonius and Artemidorus and had also included material updating the picture of Gaul to the period after Caesar's conquest and Augustus' reorganisation. His criticism, taken as a whole, is largely correct. Everywhere else in the *Geography* Strabo used Posidonius directly and he has only two citations from Timagenes, for which the original contexts remain rather obscure (FF11-12) - the arguments by Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.87, pp. 212f., and Sordi (1982), pp. 782-783, who also see Timagenes as the 'fonte base' of Strabo, fail to take account of this fact. Yet Laqueur's thesis is flawed in every segment of the argument: 1) He convincingly argues that Timagenes is unlikely to have lived to see the completion of Augustus' organisation of the Transalpine provinces, thus effectively ruling out the attribution to him of the relevant Augustan references (or at least some of them) in Strabo (pp. 1069f.). However that does not logically rule out the possibility that Timagenes himself had incorporated into his own work earlier accounts (including that of Posidonius), which he *collegit ex multiplicibus libris*, or that Strabo at least partly used Timagenes in his Celtic ethnography (e.g., 4.4.2); see Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.87, p. 170; Ogilvie (1965), p. 702; Nash (1976), p. 113. 2) Laqueur's claim that the citation of Timagenes in Ammianus covers only the origin of the Gauls and does not extend to the passage on the tripartite division of their hierarchy (15.9.8), is a mere expedient to help him reject the Timagenean origin of the corresponding statement in Strabo (4.4.4). There is no doubt that *cuius fidem secuti* (Amm. Marc. 15.9.2) applies to all that follows on the history of the Gauls (*haec quae diu sunt ignorata*). 3) This concept of the tripartite division is also present in Diodorus (5.31.2-5), who, according to Laqueur (pp. 1070f.), never uses Timagenes, which would mean that it was not particularly characteristic of the latter. Yet Laqueur further claims that Diodorus' main source, Posidonius, distinguished only two groups (the Bards and the Druids), and that he learned of the third group, the Diviners (μάνταις), from another source, probably Timaeus. By bringing this point in, he actually does more to wreck his entire thesis than to strengthen it: if Posidonius had only known a bipartite division (cf. F69 EK; Caes. BG 6.13-14; 16; but see Kidd, *Comm.*, 1.318), it would surely be easier to suppose that the concept of the tripartition in Strabo, in view of its analogy with Ammianus, derives from Timagenes rather than from Posidonius! In any case, a conflation



24.4.4: *gens aspera, audax, bellicosa*). This is typically manifested by the cynical wariness Strabo directed towards such trivia (4.4.6: καὶ τοῦτο δὲ τῶν θρυλουμένων ἐστίν ...), and it is all the more striking that Ammianus, who cited Timagenes largely in perfect and imperfect tenses yet is now reporting in the present, still makes little effort to 'update' his account and merely echoes the same stereotypes in the late fourth century AD as existed in the first century BC, as if nothing at all had changed in Gaul for four hundred years. Furthermore, worse still the whole question of the relationship between Diodorus' Celtic ethnography and that of Timagenes is blurred by the high likelihood that Timagenes, after all, may also have used Posidonius: a good example is the Gauls' addiction to wine, which is attested by Diodorus (5.26.2-3), Ammianus (15.12.4) and Posidonius himself (F67 EK).<sup>113</sup>

Hence difference matters more than similarity. It is precisely into this category that the mythical tale Diodorus followed for the etymological explanation of Γαλάται falls (5.24). According to this myth - which is almost certainly non-Posidonian - Heracles begot by a local princess a son named Galates, who was to become the eponymous king of the Gauls. Timagenes certainly knew a similar story, on the authority of *inter alia* the locals, which recounted marriages between Heracles and native women, whose children gave their names to the respective tribes (F2.6; cf. F14 *Anhang*). At the same time, however, he also quoted other sources (*quidam firmarunt*) that had derived from a tradition different from that of Diodorus: it had specifically associated the etymological origin of the collective name 'Celtae' with a king of the Aborigines, and 'Galatae' with his mother (F2.3). The literary origin of this version can without doubt be traced back to Timaeus (F69 *FGH* 3B.566).<sup>114</sup> In addition to this Timaeian myth, Timagenes also had several stories to tell of the prehistory of the Gauls and its Hellenic connexions (F2). Those variant traditions,

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of Posidonius and Timaeus in Diodorus' Celtic ethnography certainly cannot be proved (cp. Diod. 5.24 and Timaeus F69 *FGH* 3B.566).

<sup>113</sup> For Timagenes' use of Posidonius, see Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.87, pp. 212f.; 2C.88, pp. 224f. and 227; Malitz (1983), pp. 52f.

<sup>114</sup> Cf. Wiseman (1979), pp. 163f. Timaeus will also be the ultimate source for Appian's story of Polyphemus the Cyclops and Galatea the nymph, whose union is said to have produced Celtus and Galas, who in turn became the eponyms of the peoples they respectively ruled (*Ill.* 2); see also Chap. 2, p. 45. There were apparently some confusions of the two terms 'Celtae' and 'Galatae' in literature before Appian.



which Timagenes obviously *collegit ex multiplicibus libris* (T7), are at any rate not presented in the *Bibliothēke*, whether or not Diodorus himself was aware of them.

The absence in the *Bibliothēke* of historical viewpoints originating in Timagenes becomes even more apparent when a Diodoran passage contradicts a Timagenean one. In this regard Posidonius' defence of the Gallic provenance of the *aurum Tolosanum* is relevant. In the course of an excursus on the Gallic sack of Delphi in 278, Strabo introduces a view that the treasures stored in the temple of Tolosa by the Tectosages and later found by the Roman army under Servilius Caepio, cos 106, had partly originated in the spoils of Delphi (4.1.13). This leads to a citation from Timagenes, according to whom Caepio was subsequently damned for having appropriated the temple treasures and thus for having committed an act of sacrilege (F11 *FGH*). Yet Posidonius ('and many others') refuted, with Strabo's full approval, the Delphic provenance of the treasures, on such grounds as the gold-richness of the land of the Tectosages and the god-fearing nature of its inhabitants (ἡ χώρα πολύχρυσος οὔσα καὶ δεισιδαιμόνων ἀνθρώπων καὶ ...) (F273 *EK*). To which Strabo adds, clearly still following Posidonius, that there was an excessive amount of money in the temple of Tolosa, through the dedications from many people and since nobody dared to touch it. Diodorus not only adopted these Posidonian themes but also extended them, somewhat crudely, to the whole of Gaul, when he says that the land of the Gauls is rich in gold (5.27.1: χρυσὸς δὲ πολὺς), that the Gauls have dedicated a large amount of gold in their temples, and that no one however has ever touched it for fear of the gods (5.27.4: διὰ τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν). Strictly speaking, Strabo's citation from Timagenes is limited to the misfortunes Caepio suffered after Arausio, and the alleged curse of the *aurum Tolosanum* was a popular superstition already known to Posidonius (cf. Gell. *NA* 3.9.7). Yet the very context of the citation, which closely parallels Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 32.3.9-11; cf. 24.6.4), may well indicate that Timagenes indeed restated this popular tradition in defiance of Posidonius,<sup>115</sup> and if so that would come into direct conflict not only with the philosopher but also with Diodorus.

<sup>115</sup> A point taken for granted by Jacoby, *Komm.* 3C.88, p. 227; Kidd, *Comm.*, 2.934-936; cf. Sordi (1982), p. 795.



Such disagreement between Diodorus-Posidonius and Timagenes again crops up in another historical context. Concerning Antiochus Epiphanes' entry to the temple of Jerusalem in 169, Diodorus (34/5.1.3-4) - and his source Posidonius, as revealed by a parallel in Josephus (F278 EK) - made use of material coloured with anti-Semitic invectives, which claimed that the King's spoliation of the temple had exposed the absurdity and inhumanity of the Jewish worship. To this charge Josephus found a counter-argument in Timagenes (through Strabo), who, along with other pro-Jewish sources such as Nicolaus, attested that *Antiochus ... nec aliquid dignum derisione illic invenit* (F4). We may easily detect in this fragment a trace of yet another polemic from Timagenes against a tradition transmitted by Posidonius.<sup>116</sup>

On the whole Diodorus' account seems to lack the very characteristics that mark even what little remains of Timagenes, and this fact alone renders implausible either a second-hand transmission of Posidonian material through Timagenes or even a conflation of the two sources in the *Bibliothèque*. Of course, that in itself does not exclude the possibility that Diodorus indeed used Timagenes for his work but not for the above passages, just as he ignored Timaeus, one of his favourite sources, in expounding the etymology of the name of the Gauls. Yet for the period that concerns us, that is, the post-Posidonian, this possibility is greatly diminished by Timagenes' historical and literary approach as we know it, limited though our knowledge is. Let us for now put aside the question of his celebrated (yet much disputed) hostility towards Rome and, by extension, the presumed anti-Roman nature of his work - an old premise not so much attested in the extant fragments as deduced from Seneca's portrayal of the historian as *felicitati urbis inimicus* (T8) and from the high repute of his 'acid tongue' (T2; cf. T1: παρρησιαστής; Plut. *Mor.* 68B, *Quom. Ad.* 27) directed even at the family of his patron Augustus (T3).<sup>117</sup> As a matter of fact, Timagenes is

<sup>116</sup> For the complexity involving this Posidonian citation in Josephus and its likely original context, see Chap. 2, p. 47f. Given that Bk. 36 of Pompeius Trogus (Just. *Epit.* 36.2-3) is any guide, Timagenes may well have also included a Jewish ethnography in his work (cf. Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.88, pp. 226f.). Diodorus, however, certainly did not use such an account by Timagenes, since he instead employed the one given by Hecataeus of Abdera (see above). For this 'Jewish ethnography' as for any other topics, the relationship between Posidonius - Timagenes - Diodorus - Strabo - Trogus is so complicated by the stratification and likely overlapping of common material that it evades any further detection.

<sup>117</sup> The identification of Timagenes among others (e.g. Metrodorus of Scepsis) with the *levissimi ex Graecis, qui Parthorum quoque contra nomen Romanum gloriae favent ...* (T9),



very likely to have used pro-Roman material such as Posidonius and, still more significantly in our discussion, a pro-Pompeian source, that is, Theophanes. This hypothesis is not at all undermined, and in fact rather strengthened, by Timagenes' explicit polemic against Theophanes (F9; cf. Plut. *Pomp.* 37.2-3 ), as with the case of Polybius' overdone criticism of Timaeus. However, from the passages in which indirect transmission of Theophanes' Pompeian work through Timagenes can reasonably be inferred, it is all the more clear that Timagenes was at best a most cynical intermediary of this material.<sup>118</sup> In fact, Timagenes himself regarded the Roman intervention in the troubles of Ptolemaic Egypt in 58-55, which probably had caused his own expatriation (see above), as a consequence of the intrigue instigated by Theophanes for the benefit of Pompey; by doing so, therefore, he also attacked, barely indirectly, the greed of Pompey himself (F9). Plutarch simply dismissed this charge as an unfounded calumny, and plainly such criticism hardly conforms to Diodorus' picture of Pompey the Great as we have seen it.<sup>119</sup>

Even though the chronological relationship between Diodorus' work and that of Timagenes may leave scope for other arguments, the actual disagreement between the two authors as presented above will rule out the possibility of a Timagenean

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referred to in Livy's famous comparison of Alexander and the Romans (9.17-19), has been alternately approved and rejected; Jacoby, *Komm.* 2C.88, pp. 223f.; Laqueur, *RE Timagenes*, cols. 1066-1068; Malitz (1983), p. 53. On a new basis obtained from a comparison of Livy with Ammianus, Trogus and Strabo, Sordi (1982), pp. 794-797, argues in favour of this theory, but shifts emphasis from the 'antiromanesimo' to the 'ellenocentrismo' of Timagenes. On the other hand, in Bks. 40-41 (esp. 41) of Justin's epitome of Trogus which deal with the history of Parthia and its relations with Rome, there seems to be nothing 'pro-Parthian' enough to irritate Livy's patriotism (overreaction?); such comments as *velut divisione orbis cum Romanis facta* (41.1.1) or *non pares solum, verum etiam victores fuere* (i.e. over the Romans) (41.1.7) are simply descriptions of the plain facts.

<sup>118</sup> Jacoby, *Komm.* 2D.188, pp. 615 and 617, argues that the use of Theophanes by Plutarch and Appian was not first-hand, and in the case of Plutarch probably through Timagenes. Furthermore, Jacoby., *op. cit.*, pp. 615f., as well as Laqueur, *RE Theophanes*, cols. 2101 and 2122, suggest that Timagenes was also responsible for the attack on Theophanes' report on the secret documents allegedly found at the Mithridatic fort of Kainon (F1 FGH 2B.188), which Plutarch credits to anonymous οἱ πλεῖστοι. This argument is convincing, not least in view of Plut. *Pomp.* 49.7 (= T5c FGH 2B.188 = F9 FGH 2A.89). On the other hand, Appian's Pompeian account is much more diluted and it is thus difficult to trace the origin(s) of all the deviations.

<sup>119</sup> This passage does not, despite Malitz (1983), p. 53, manifest an apparently anti-Roman sentiment on the part of Timagenes. It was probably more an expression of the author's claim of independence from his source - a literary convention of the time - and Timagenes himself, as son of the King's money-changer (T1), must have had direct knowledge of the events concerned.



influence in the *Bibliothēke*. On the other hand, that means that no known Greek author of a comprehensive history can even hypothetically be summoned up to solve the conundrum of Diodorus' post-Posidonian narrative. Before conceding defeat, however, it seems worth examining the rest of our Diodoran material covering Roman affairs in the 70s and 60s. From Diodorus' lost narrative of this period, there are six non-Pompeian fragments that have survived: one on Spartacus, two on the Sertorian War, one from the initial stage of the Third Mithridatic War and the other two on the Catilinarian conspiracy.<sup>120</sup> This is not an impressive tally. Apparently the Byzantine compilers did not share the modern excitement at the social and political dynamism of the post-Sullan decades, or perhaps they were already tired of making excerpts. Nevertheless, this meagre evidence does offer an interesting comparison with other sources.

In many of the ancient traditions the final stage of the  
SALLUST AND CICERO Marian resistance in Spain has been marked by the alleged  
deterioration of Sertorius' leadership into tyranny, and the *Bibliothēke* is no exception (38/9.22; 37.22a). Appian agrees with our historian in general outline, as he does so often on many other occasions, yet he differs considerably in detail (*BC* 1.112-113; *Iber.* 101). Appian, for his part, seems to have shared common knowledge of Sertorius' guerrilla-war with Livy (cf. *Liv. Per.* 90-94; 96; *Oros.* 5.23.1-13; *Flor.* 2.10; *Eutrop.* 6.1.2-3), or it may be that Livy was his immediate source for it. Plutarch's version, on the other hand, is in marked contrast to these traditions in his unchanging sympathy towards the rebel *proscriptus*, and ascribes his assassination to altogether different motives (*Sert.* 10.3-4; 25-27; cf. *Pomp.* 20.2). Yet a number of agreements of detail between Plutarch on the one hand and Appian and the Livian tradition on the other in their accounts of the entire course of the war show that Plutarch's *Life* of Sertorius (as well as part of his *Life* of Pompey) also owes much

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<sup>120</sup> That is to say, of course, excluding the closing section of Photius' *Codex* 244 of Diodorus (Phot. *Bibl.* p. 393a 12-b 5), marked under the superscript of 'Bks. 37, 38 and afterwards', which in fact contains a cursory review of the succeeding events down to the death of Augustus and further beyond (τὸ τῶν ἰλλουστρίων ἀξίωμα ...); on the problem of this passage, see Chap. 1, pp. 27f.



either to Livy himself or to the source Livy used.<sup>121</sup> And behind all of Livy, Appian and Plutarch almost certainly lie, as their ultimate principal source, Sallust's *Histories* (1.88-126; 2.29-35; 53-70; 88-98; 3.81-85 M.; cf. Exup. 8), to which Plutarch probably had direct access.<sup>122</sup> It is, therefore, intriguing to consider where Diodorus' account of the Sertorian War stood in relation to Sallust. Chronologically, Sallust's *Histories* were certainly available before the publication of the *Bibliothèque*, with a gap of at least around five years. Still more significantly, there is actually a close parallel between Diodorus (37.22a) and a fragment of Sallust (*Hist.* 3.88 M.) on the banquet that provided the occasion for the assassination of Sertorius.<sup>123</sup> This alone of course does not even remotely prove Diodorus' use of Sallust, and even less so in view of the complete absence of the *brevitas* of the Sallustian language in Diodorus' passages, as much as of Sallust's general hostility towards Pompey (*Cat.* 19; *Hist.* 2.16-18; 3.88; 4.42; 5.23 M.). It does however appear that, for this particular incident at any rate, the two authors happened to have contact with traditions of a common origin - whether or not it was among those writers whose *invidia*, according to Sallust, played down the rôle of Sertorius in the Cimbric and Social Wars (*Hist.* 1.88 M.).

<sup>121</sup> Those items include: Sertorius' wish to sail to the Atlantic Isles of the Blest (Plut. *Sert.* 8-9: Μακάροι; Flor. 2.10.2: *Fortunatae Insulae*; also in Sall. *Hist.* 1.100-103 M.); the creation of a mock senate (*Sert.* 22.3-4; App. *BC* 1.108; cf. *Mithr.* 68); a white fawn (*Sert.* 11; 20; App. *BC* 1.110; also in Val. Max. 1.2.4 *Par.*); a witticism about Pompey's proconsular command as *pro consulibus* (*Pomp.* 17.4; Oros. 5.23.8, attributed to Sertorius; also in Auct. *Vir.* III. 77.4, but with the joke taken literally) - Plutarch's version rather derived from Cicero? (cf. *Leg. Man.* 62; *Phil.* 11.18); verbal parallelism on the outcome of the battle at Sucro (*Pomp.* 19.2: τὸ μὲν οὖν τέλος ἀμφίδοξον ἔσχεν ὁ ἀγών· ἑκατέρου γὰρ θάτερον κέραι ἐνίκησε; Liv. *Per.* 92: *dubio eventu cum Sertorio pugnavit, ita ut singula ex utraque parte cornua vicerint*; cf. Oros. 5.23.11; Flor. 2.10.7). The deviations, as well as the favourable treatment of Sertorius, could have resulted from conflation of several sources by Plutarch, or from transmission of the same material to him by a different route, or, again, from a willingness to make revisions on his own initiative.

<sup>122</sup> Compare Plut. *Sert.* 3-4 and Sall. *Hist.* 1.88-89 M.; *Sert.* 7.1-2 and *Hist.* 1.95-96 M.; *Sert.* 7.3-4 and *Hist.* 1.98?-99 M.; *Sert.* 8-9 and *Hist.* 1.100-103 M.; *Sert.* 12.3 and *Hist.* 1.108 M.; *Pomp.* 18.3 and *Hist.* 2.54-55? M.; *Sert.* 21.1-2 and *Hist.* 2.67-68 M.; *Sert.* 21.5-6, *Pomp.* 20.1 and *Hist.* 2.98 M. See also Maurenbrecher (1891), *Proleg.* pp. 27-35; Russell (1973), p. 116.

<sup>123</sup> The minor difference of the seating order of the conspirators in the respective descriptions of Sallust and Diodorus is perhaps not critical; it could have happened at any stage of the transmission of the common material: see Maurenbrecher (1891), *Proleg.* pp. 39f., who, more than a century ago now, was tempted to suggest: 'Sallustii historiis Diodorum in bello Sertoriano enarrando esse usum.' His dating, however, of Octavian's colonisation of Tauromenium - the latest event mentioned by Diodorus - to the year 21 is now an obsolete theory; see Chap. 1, note 28.



The case for Diodorus' direct contact with Sallust may at any rate be weakened by a Diodoran fragment on yet another concurrent trouble of Rome, the outbreak of the Third Mithridatic War (?38/9.22.1),<sup>124</sup> in which our historian reports Mithridates' marginal escape from being captured by the Cyzicenes and a Roman centurion in an underground tunnel (37.22b). It is true that Sallust did deal with the King's siege of Cyzicus in some detail (*Hist.* 3.26-42 M.), but secondary traditions likely to have derived from his *Histories* show no indication at all that he included this particular episode, one of no little significance: it is not in Plutarch, whose explicit citations (*Luc.* 11.4 = Sall. *Hist.* 3.42 M.; *Luc.* 33.3 = Sall. *Hist.* 5.10 M.) show that he continued to use Sallust as a source for this stage of the war, as he did for the revolt of Spartacus and also for Sertorius. Neither Livy (*Flor.* 1.40.15-17; *Liv. Per.* 95; *Oros.* 6.2.14 and 19; *Frontin. Str.* 3.13.6; *Eutrop.* 6.6.3) nor Velleius (2.33.1), other potential users of Sallust, seem to have been informed of the incident, or at any rate recorded it; and Appian only cursorily touches upon the mere existence of mining operations at the siege (*Mithr.* 75: ὑπονόμοις τὸ τεῖχος ἀνεκρήμνη).

It might, of course, well be suggested that the absence of a particular episode in these traditions is simply accounted for by the different choice of material by each author who used Sallust. Yet the independence of the Diodoran fragment from Sallust can probably be confirmed by the fact that the only parallel tradition to the passage emerges from Strabo (12.8.11), whose numerous citations throughout his work somehow ignored Sallust and whose material included several (identified and unidentified) sources from the Greek East who were free from pro-Roman biases. Whether or not the immediate source for Strabo's more contracted version of the episode was indeed identical with that of Diodorus, it is tempting to ascribe the ultimate authorship to one of those independent sources.<sup>125</sup> The complete lack of comparable material in other extant traditions may hinder developing this conjecture, and regrettably Photius' abbreviation of the account of Memnon, who like Strabo had independent Asiatic sources, is hardly helpful (F1.28.1-4 *FGH* 3B.434). Yet it must be said at least that the presence of the episode solely in Diodorus and in Strabo may

<sup>124</sup> Cf. Maurenbrecher (1891), *Proleg.* p. 67

<sup>125</sup> Cf. Maurenbrecher (1891), *Proleg.* pp. 61-64 and 66f., on the question of the source(s) used by Strabo and Diodorus for the Third Mithridatic War.



well hint at its Greek origin. As for the existence of parallel accounts in Sallust and Diodorus for one incident (Sertorius) and the lack thereof for another (Cyzicene tunnels), several explanations are possible: the transmission of the same Sertorian material via different intermediaries; Sallust's eclectic choice of material from a common single source; or, it might even be suggested, Diodorus' use of separate sources for the two episodes.

The last extant material that we have of the *Bibliothèque* comprises the two Constantinian excerpts on the Catilinarian conspiracy (40.5-5a). Sallust's *Histories* no longer count in consideration of the problem of the source(s) for these fragments, since the work did not go much beyond 67 (cf. 5.17-27 M.). Nor does even his monograph on the *Bellum Catilinae*: the Diodoran version of the incident, having been reduced to a tabloid story of debt, love and adventure with all the Sallustian moralising frills stripped off, nevertheless seems to preserve a somewhat more accurate chronology (40.5), against Sallust's notorious predating of key events from the start of the *coniuratio* to the senatorial session on 8 November 63. For this meeting of the Senate, furthermore, Diodorus (40.5a) offers an altogether different - and more authentic - account of the proceedings (compare Cic. *Cat.* 1.20-21 and *Mur.* 51, with Sall. *Cat.* 31.5-9; *Orat.* 129 and *Cat.* 2.13 with Sall. *Cat.* 31.7). Many other traditions on the other hand, Livy included, appear to be variously dependent on Sallust in one way or another, as many specific details in their narratives very closely parallel those presented in the *Catiline*.<sup>126</sup> The notable exception is Dio. Despite some clear traces of contact with Sallustian traditions (esp. 37.34-36; cp. Sall. *Cat.* 45-48; 50ff.) - probably through Livy - he has several unique items and, furthermore, a more accurate chronological order of events (37.29.1-33.1), setting the start of the plot after the consular election of 63 (cf. Cic. *Mur.* 50) and the failed assault on Cicero between the *senatus consultum ultimum* of 21 October and the senatorial meeting of 8

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<sup>126</sup> See App. *BC* 2.2-7; Plut. *Cic.* 10-11; *Caes.* 7.3-8.2; *Flor.* 2.12; *Vell.* 2.34.3-35.5; cf. also *Oros.* 6.6.5-7, naming Sallust; *Quintil.* 5.10.30; *Val. Max.* 5.8.5; 9.1.9. However some of them may well rather come directly from Cicero, whom Sallust without doubt used extensively: e.g., compare *Val. Max.* 9.11.3 with Cic. *Mur.* 51 and Sall. *Cat.* 31.9. For individual episodes attested both by Cicero and Sallust, it is hardly possible to determine which author was the immediate source. On the source question of the ancient traditions on the Catilinarian conspiracy, see Manni (1969), pp. 167-202 ('Le Fonti'), though there remain some doubts about the complex question of the Plutarchian sources.



November (cf. Cic. *Cat.* 1.1; 1.8-10; *Sull.* 52; Plut. *Cic.* 16.1-3). The chances are that all this too comes from Livy, who must have had other sources than Sallust alone (cf. Liv. *Per.* 102: *L. Catilina bis repulsam in petitione consulatus passus ... coniuravit*; also App. *BC* 2.2). Whatever the case, the non-Sallustian items in Dio (and much of Plutarch's *Cicero*), most of which deal exclusively with Cicero's activities and are attested by the orator himself, are very likely to have ultimately derived, together with its chronological table, from Cicero's Greek *ὑπόμνημα* on his consulship (see above).<sup>127</sup> A final confirmation of this hypothesis comes from a fragment of this lost treatise (F1 Peter = Plut. *Crass.* 13.3: an anonymous letter to Crassus informing the existence of a conspiracy; cf. *Cic.* 15.1-2), with which a passage in Dio precisely concurs (37.31.1).

The comparison between Diodorus and Cicero, on the other hand, is less promising. It is certainly true that, despite the obvious compression (and possible garbling?) of the subject-matter by Diodorus and/or the Constantinian excerptor, our historian does not overtly contradict Cicero's *testimonia* - up to a point at any rate. Although he himself (40.5) does not make clear when 'the plot was thus planned (τοῦτον δὲ τὸν τρόπον διεσκευασμένης τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς)', the content of the passage does seem to fit best with that clandestine meeting of the Catilinarians at the house of M. Porcius Laeca (Cic. *Sull.* 52; *Cat.* 1.1; 1.8-10; 2.13; Sall. *Cat.* 27.3-28.2;

<sup>127</sup> Dio, 37.29.4-5 (also in Plut. *Cic.* 14.5-6): Cicero, wearing a breastplate under his toga, appears escorted by bodyguards on the day of the consular election of 63 (Cic. *Mur.* 52; cf. *Cat.* 1.11; *Sull.* 51); 37.29.3: he summons Catiline to the Senate (Cic. *Cat.* 1.30; cf. also Catiline's response to Cicero in Cic. *Mur.* 51 and Plut. *Cic.* 14.4); 37.33.4 (also in Plut. *Cic.* 12.4): he cedes the province of Macedonia to C. Antonius Hybrida (not specified in Sall. *Cat.* 26.4) and further renounces his alternative claim to Cisalpine Gaul, preferring to stay in the city for its defence (Cic. *Pis.* 5; *Fam.* 5.2.1-4; cf. *Cat.* 4.23; *Att.* 2.1.3); 37.34.3-4: the statue of Jupiter is erected on the Capitol on 3 December (Cic. *Cat.* 3.20-22); 37.35.4 (also in Plut. *Cic.* 19.3-20.2): Cicero receives a good omen at the sacrificial rites of the Bona Dea conducted in his house (cf. *Cat.* 2.29) - the last episode also very probably from Cicero himself, as part of his *apologia* to defend the legitimacy of his actions as sanctioned by divine authority. Plutarch also has some items that are in Dio but not in Sallust (see above), and many more unique ones of his own. Yet these cannot with any certainty be ascribed to a single work of Cicero, since Plutarch, besides the *ὑπόμνημα*, had first-hand reading of his published speeches, letters and other treatises: e.g., *Cic.* 2.3; 6.2-4 (from Cic. *Planc.* 65); 24.4-7; 36.5 (from *Fam.* 2.11.2); 37.2 (from *Att.* 8.7); 45.2 (from *ad Brut.* 1.17.5); *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 2.1 (from *Pis.* 72-74, or directly from the *de consulatu suo*); *Phoc.* 3.1 (from *Att.* 2.1); *Cat. Mai.* 17.4 (from *De sen.* 42); *Luc.* 42.4 (*Acad.* 2 *Luc.*); *Crass.* 13.3 (*de consiliis suis*); *Ant.* 9.3 (*Phil.*); cf. *Cic.* 24.1-2 (ὥς ἐκ τῶν συγγραμμάτων λαβεῖν ἔστι); *Comp. Dem. et Cic.* 1.2. He also used the biographical treatise of the orator written by his freedman M. Tullius Tiro (Cic. 41.3 = F3 Peter; *id.* 49.2).



Dio, 37.32.3-4), if not an earlier one. The ἐπιβουλή referred to, on the other hand, is certainly not the abortive assault on Cicero's house in the same night (Cic. *Cat.* 1.10; 1.32; 2.12; *Sull.* 18; 52; *Mur.* 79; Plut. *Cic.* 16.1-2; Dio, 37.32.4-33.1; cf. Sall. *Cat.* 28.1-3) but the larger-scale massacre of senators and the arson of the city scheduled to take place later, which Cicero testifies or else implies were already arranged at the same meeting (Cic. *Cat.* 1.6; 1.9; 1.12; 1.32; 2.6; 2.13; 2.27; *Sull.* 52; Gelzer, p. 85; *contra* Plut. *Cic.* 17.4-18.2; *Cat. Min.* 22.2; but see also Cic. *Cat.* 4.13; Sall. *Cat.* 32.3; 43.1-2). However, the chronological agreement with Cicero stops here. For according to Diodorus, the date for the armed insurrection was fixed at τὴν ἑορτήν, that is, the Saturnalia (Plut. *Cic.* 18.2), already at this stage of the plot before the plan was communicated to the consul; but Cicero explicitly states that this date was decided by other conspirators after Catiline's departure from the city (*Cat.* 3.10; 3.17) - one of so many follies committed through their inferior judgement, Cicero apparently thinks, since *non ille* (sc. Catiline) *nobis Saturnalia constituisset, neque tanto ante exiti ac fati diem rei publicae demuntiavisset*. It might nevertheless still be argued that our historian grossly misinterpreted or abbreviated a Ciceronian account. Yet nowhere in the extant works does Cicero mention the affair between Quintus Curius and Fulvia, and it would be rather surprising if he ever did. Diodorus, on the other hand, somehow knew the story (although the two informers remain anonymous in the fragment), and so did others (Sall. *Cat.* 23.1-4; 26.2-4; 28.2; Plut. *Cic.* 16.2; Flor. 2.12.6; cf. Dio, 37.33.1).

These disagreements seem to justify suggesting that Diodorus' account does not directly derive from Cicero or secondary traditions originating from him, and that the source our historian used had incorporated at least one rival version of the episode as opposed to that of Cicero, a version with which Sallust (and perhaps Plutarch independently of Sallust) appears also to have been acquainted. The second Diodoran fragment, on the session of the Senate held on 8 November 63, can also be interpreted in the same light (40.5a). This passage incidentally turns out to contain a piece of information unique among ancient sources, and thus to provide the only external control on the corresponding sections of Cicero's published version of the first Catilinarian oration (*Cat.* 1.20-21). There Cicero (*Cat.* 1.16; 20-21; cf. 2.12; Sall.



*Cat.* 31.8), and Plutarch under his influence (*Cic.* 16.3), presented the senators as tacitly yet unanimously hostile towards Catiline right from the outset, as if by their very silence they had already delivered their *sententiae* against him (*sis gravissimo iudicio taciturnitatis oppressus*) without Cicero's motion (*non referam*). In Diodorus, however, they remained silent because, as is then revealed, they were at a loss what to do when confronted with Cicero's direct question 'whether it seems good that Catiline should leave the city (εἰ δοκεῖ μεταναστῆναι τὸν Κατιλίαν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως)'.<sup>128</sup> The first *Catilinarian* is written solely from Cicero's point of view, having been revised *post eventum* to meet his political needs three years later in 60 (*Att.* 2.1.3), whereas Diodorus' account is clearly a report from the perspective of a third party, reproducing the scene at the meeting as it actually took place.<sup>129</sup> But what is the provenance of this unique piece of information, attested in no other author? Brutus' eulogy of Cato was once proposed as Diodorus' source, but this is characteristically yet another nebulous conjecture beyond proof.<sup>130</sup> Moreover, even if

<sup>128</sup> For the complex history of the variant readings of this Diodoran fragment (caused chiefly by the misreading of Κόιντον Κάτλον as Λεύκιον Κατιλίαν), see Reinach (1904), pp. 5-8, and Walton (1967), p. 293 n. 1. The currently accepted text is still to an extent subject to different interpretations: Ungern-Sternberg, (1971), p. 49, while printing Boissevain's edition (1906) of the text of the *De sent.*, δυσχεραινόντων ἐπὶ τῷ πάλιν ῥηθέντι ἐπὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν, ἔφησεν, seems to have based his interpretation on the reading of Reinach and the Loeb edition, δυσχεραινόντων ἐπὶ τῷ ῥηθέντι, πάλιν ἐπὶ τὸν Κατιλίαν ἔφησεν, which would quite radically alter the sense of the scene.

<sup>129</sup> Reinach (1904), pp. 9-11, by explaining the differences between the versions of Diodorus and of Cicero from stylistic and political points of view, convincingly argues that the Diodoran account is more faithful to what happened on 8 November 63; Ungern-Sternberg (1971), more or less follows Reinach's thesis with some modifications; cf. also Münzer, *Q. Lutatius Catulus* (8), *RE* XIII.II, col. 2091. Of all the alterations Cicero made, the most important in its political implication would be his declaration in his first *Catilinarian* that he would not refer to the Senate the question of Catiline's banishment (20: *non referam*). According to Diodorus, however, the consul actually did put the question to the Senate (ἐπηρώτησε τοὺς συγκλητικούς), and met with damning silence - even if Cicero had expected such a reaction, he could still not have afforded to admit it in 60, when he was revising the speech as a means of *apologia* (cf. Gelzer, 1969, pp. 86f.); see Ungern-Sternberg (1971), pp. 51-54 for further considerations.

<sup>130</sup> Cf. Reinach (1904), p. 11, with reference to a thesis by Bloch. Manni (1969), pp. 179f., compares the Diodoran fragment with Florus (2.12.7) and concludes that Livy was the source for Diodorus. Manni's hypothesis is not tenable on either literary or chronological grounds: the relocation of Catiline's remark in the Senate that 'he would quench the fire consuming him by destruction (*incendium suum restincturum ruina*)' (Flor. *ibid.*) from July 63 (*Cic. Mur.* 51; *Val. Max.* 9.11.3; cf. Gelzer, 1969, p. 81) to 8 November - which shows that the principal source for this episode in Florus-Livy was Sallust (*Cat.* 31.9) - clashes with the more authentic version of Diodorus (cf. *Cic. Cat.* 2.13; *Orat.* 129; Gelzer, 1969, p. 87). And in any case the publication of the *Bibliothèque* predates even that of Livy's first Pentad.



this lost treatise were to prove to be the ultimate origin of this second passage, that would still not answer the source question for the first of the two Catilinarian fragments, nor for that matter for all the rest of the Diodoran material on this period that has no demonstrable source. Although Diodorus' frank account of Cicero's *relatio* to the Senate and of his improvisation in his exchange with Catiline would have been embarrassing to the orator, it can hardly have come from some political *exposé* designed to cut the ground from under Cicero's protestations: the tone of the narrative is neutral throughout the two Diodoran fragments. This relative detachment from partisan polemics in Rome - which have marked much of the literature of his time - is also characteristic of Diodorus' post-Posidonian fragments as a whole, and one gains the impression that, whatever the ultimate origin of each episode, many, if not all, of these fragments had one or more intermediary sources who were somewhat removed from Roman internal politics.

Any attempt to establish one or more definitive sources for Diodorus' post-Posidonian narrative is bound to be impeded by the fact that, notwithstanding the paucity of the extant fragments, much of the material contained in these is singular and unique, and there are few or no comparable traditions in other authors. Useful though those episodes may well be to the historian, they are of little avail to our purpose since there is virtually no external control. Furthermore, as has been illustrated by the case of Posidonius and Timagenes, Diodorus could not have used any of the Greek historical works of a universal nature that have come to our knowledge. Yet from this fact there emerge three open possibilities, by no means mutually exclusive, for Diodorus' sources: 1) Greek author/authors, altogether unknown to us now or only known through their names; 2) oral information and his own recollection of the contemporary events; 3) Latin sources, *ignoti* or otherwise. The last possibility, Diodorus' use of Latin works, should not wholly be ruled out from our considerations, even if his alleged acquaintance with Latin is to be somewhat discounted (see above) - it may have been good enough for the purpose of reading at any rate, and after all our historian had also stayed in Rome for a considerable period.



It must be repeated, moreover, that an interpreter was never a product of modern convenience.<sup>131</sup>

In my view, however, the existing evidence far more compellingly favours the first two options, that is, a Greek work or works written by a Greek author or authors, combined perhaps with some sort of raw material such as oral information. First, the fact that many of the Diodoran episodes in his post-Posidonian narrative are altogether unknown in contemporary and later Roman traditions (except 38/9.11; 16-17; 22 with Sall. *Hist.* 3.88 M.; 40.5), and the fact that characteristically Roman preoccupations, political and social, rarely if at all manifest themselves (e.g. 38/9.12-15: absence of partisan tendency, esp. Sullan), make a Latin annalistic work a rather unlikely candidate for Diodorus' source, at least for the majority of the fragments that we have. In fact, many of these fragments clearly exhibit non-Roman perspectives reflecting in one case the viewpoint of a provincial (38/9.20) and in many others that of the Greek East (38/9.8: Posidonian?; 38/9.15: reference to Sulla's Hellenistic title; 40.4: Pompey as saviour of the Asiatic Greek world; cf. also 40.1a-b). This occasional Greek touch is probably not unconnected with the fact that a few unique items find rare parallels in independent Greek sources (37.22b with Strabo; 40.1 with App. *Sic.* and Dio; 40.2 with ?Josephus-Strabo). As to the identity of this anonymous Greek material which presumably supplied information for much of Diodorus' post-Posidonian narrative, we can say no more. It may indeed have come from one or more

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<sup>131</sup> For Diodorus' possible use of late Roman annalists (rather than early ones writing in Greek) for his earlier account of Rome, see Càssola (1982), esp. pp. 746-763. It is true that, if Diodorus had chosen to use contemporary annalistic authors, they would have been a good source of information and, moreover, would have provided him with a ready-made chronological format compatible with his own. Among such authors, Claudius Quadrigarius, Valerius Antias and Aelius Tubero certainly fall within the scope of the period concerned, and possibly also Scribonius Libo. Among the Latin *historiae*, Cornelius Sisenna's work went at least as far as 82, and perhaps down to Sulla's death; thus his work *could* have filled the post-Posidonian vacuum left for the period between 87/6-79/8; for Sallust's *Historiae*, see above. Other writers of Latin works theoretically available to Diodorus include: L. Lucceius (*historiae* of the Social and Civil Wars, and possibly further down); Terentius Varro (*De Pompeio* and *Imagines* among so many others); Voltacilius Pilutus (*res gestae* of the Pompeii); Ampius Balbus (?biographies of eminent men); Cornelius Nepos; Atticus' *Liber annalis* (chronological table). If we were to extend our enquiry from historical writings to memoirs, official documents, published speeches, letters, political pamphlets and so on, the scope encompassed would not only go beyond our reach but, in fact, rarely bear profitable results for want of solid evidence; only in one fortunate instance have we been able to compare such material with Diodorus (i.e. Cicero's 1 *Cat.* and Diod. 40.5a), yet the result proved rather negative.



universal histories which happen not to have left any traces in the later literary traditions, but the generally accepted 'single-source' hypothesis in Diodoran *Quellenkritik* need not always dictate our response. If there was no ready-made comprehensive work available to him, Diodorus would as a matter of necessity have had to consult and combine multiple sources. On that hypothesis, the monograph of Theophanes remains a strong possibility, and we might also include such writers as Hypsicrates, Teucer Cyzicenus or even that pro-Pontic historian Metrodorus (see above).<sup>132</sup>

As for Diodorus' incorporation of oral traditions and his own personal knowledge into his narrative, it is easy enough to suppose this, since he is found to have done so in earlier, fuller books, but much harder to pinpoint specific examples. Yet there is one possible example of the use of personal knowledge that I have observed, the fragment on Pompey's Sicilian administration (38/9.20). As his narrative moved into a period close to or contemporary with his own lifetime (and residence in Rome), Diodorus could easily have made use of a wider range of sources, had he chosen to do so, including oral information and writings of less formal kind than fully-developed historiography, such as gazettes and pamphlets. These kinds of informal sources may be the ultimate origin of odd anecdotes such as the one about a man who unexpectedly fell victim to Sulla's proscriptions (38/9.19).<sup>133</sup> If Diodorus in fact used such material, that may well partly explain our difficulty in identifying a single source for his post-Posidonian narrative.

Finally, we may note that, as in the rest of the *Bibliothēke*, many instances of the familiar Diodoran thought and vocabulary are also dotted here and there among what little is left of the post-Posidonian narrative (38/9.6; 18; 20; ?21; 22.3).

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<sup>132</sup> Laqueur (1958) famously advocated, on a linguistic and stylistic basis, a thesis that Diodorus had conflated several sources in his earlier books - yet without much success or conviction; cf. Bizière (1974), pp. 369f. n. 4; Hornblower (1981), pp. 20-22. Diodorus himself, at the beginning of his entire work, clearly states that he also 'enquired (ἐξετάσαντες)' into monographic works (οἱ πλείστοι μὲν ἐνὸς ἔθνους ἢ μιᾶς πόλεως αὐτοτελεῖς πολέμους ἀνέγραψαν) (1.3.1-3.5); yet it may rather be that he is merely paraphrasing what Polybius - the historian who most influenced Diodorus' concept of historiography - had to say to justify his project of writing a universal history (1.4). Probably the answer lies somewhere in between.

<sup>133</sup> For Diodorus' use of oral information and autopsy, see Càssola (1982), p. 769; Sacks (1990), pp. 86 and 112-116.

Diodorus' use of more than one source, as well as of primary information from eyewitnesses (including himself) on contemporary events, combined with his own philosophical and literary filtering of such diverse material to compose a coherent narrative - all this, were it ever to be proved, would certainly earn our author a recognition that was once denied him: that is, as something like a historian as we understand the word. This is the kind of thing that recent studies have been increasingly tempted to accord to that Sicilian patriot, with their repeated emphasis on his 'intellectual independence' (see Introduction). I wish my post-Posidonian investigation could join in the chorus, but the desperate dearth of decisive material seems to inhibit us from going that far.



## CONCLUSIONS

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When I first undertook the present research, the primary objective intended was to 'segregate', so to speak, strictly Diodoran elements in Bks. 33-40 of the *Bibliothèque* from what are basically reflections, if not simple excerpts, of his source, Posidonius - that is, to distinguish Diodorus' own stylistic, philosophical and even factual contributions to the narrative. My initial objective apparently reflected, and still does, the two contrasting traditions in Diodoran scholarship - the near-infatuation with *Quellenforschung* on the one hand, and the insistence on the 'conceptual integrity' of his *Bibliothèque* as a whole on the other (Introduction and Chap. 2). As the work progressed, however, it became clear that such an approach to the existing material was too simplistic - all the more so in the face of the overall uniformity of lexical and philosophical features between that part and the other books of the *Bibliothèque* and, at least at first glance, the apparent compatibility of Diodorus' didactic approach to writing history with that of Posidonius as we know it from his attested fragments. Many such stylistic and philosophical affinities between those two late-Hellenistic authors no doubt originate partly in the spiritual world shaped by Stoicism in which they both lived, and partly in the common traditions of Hellenistic historiography most splendidly represented by Polybius, a historian who had direct influence on both Posidonius and Diodorus.

For all the similarities between Posidonius and Diodorus, however, I hope that the foregoing study has also revealed two somewhat contrasting personalities or perhaps literary personae, which seem to emerge from close examinations of the often fine difference of philosophical outlook and historiographical interest between the Diodoran narrative and the Posidonian fragments, and in some case between different parts of the *Bibliothèque* itself. As his presentation of the Gracchi and Marius shows (Chap. 3), Posidonius was hardly a political analyst despite his career in Rhodes as prytanis, nor was he particularly attentive to the legal and economic factors involved in the development of a historical event. His most profound interest lay rather in the part played by the workings of individual and social psychology in historical causation

(as opposed to the Thucydidean interest in the psychology of a state); and that was the field in which he had a whole range of theories underpinning his interpretations. It is hardly likely that Posidonius, who was a less Romanocentric historian than Polybius, saw the Roman hegemony as a divine mandate. For the philosopher, the 'moral decline' which he supposed was currently taking place in Roman society was essentially part of the same socio-historical process as had earlier led the Hellenistic kingdoms, or any other past empires for that matter, to 'real decline'. Yet at the same time, this 'universalism' or, more properly, his understanding of history as applied philosophy, probably meant that the process of his aetiological analysis was deductive rather than inductive, allowing his philosophical theories to determine his interpretations of individual incidents more often than was justified: see, for example, the structural parallelism between the two Sicilian Slave Wars (Chap. 5). Furthermore, Posidonius' actual presentation of his topics was highly rhetorical, tragic and episodic - literary features that make him in some respects a 'sensationalist' historian in the Hellenistic mould. In view of the two longest excerpts from the *Histories*, on the tyrant Athenion and on Nicias of Syracuse, this label, however unfavourable in the context of modern historical studies, cannot be dismissed as a false impression created by the highly fragmentary nature of the surviving passages that might be unrepresentative of his style. Posidonius' apparent preoccupation with rhetorical effects was no doubt largely responsible for occasional anachronisms such as the equestrian control of the *repetundae* court at the time of the First Slave War (Chap. 5), or the implication that Marius was 'killed', so to speak, by Sulla's νέμεις (Chap. 6). Such tendencies would not tend to enhance his credentials as a historian, at least in the eyes of modern researchers.

Diodorus, on the other hand, was no doubt less original - as one might expect from a man wishing to write a compendium for wider consumption - as well as less subtle. His contributions to the material, as far as the 'Posidonian narrative' of the *Bibliothèque* is concerned, will have been largely restricted to literary aspects. In view of the greatly different chronological scales of Posidonius' work and his own, he would have had to compress or else omit a good deal of Posidonius' original narrative, although the extent of the former is by any measure hard to assess owing to



the fragmentary state of both Posidonian and Diodoran material. Yet as we have observed in the parallel passages between Posidonius' ethnographic accounts and his own (Chap. 2), Diodorus certainly occasionally expanded his Posidonian material by adding more details, in addition to re-deploying it to suit his own contexts. His customary modifications of his source in line with his lexical and stylistic preferences - coupled with frequent insertions of moralising *sententiae* of his own - have, because of their apparent banality, often been dismissed as literary 'dilution' or 'reduction' of the arts of presentation in the original. But they certainly reflect a genuine attempt on the part of Diodorus to make his narrative readable, and perhaps even to mitigate Posidonius' highly rhetorical presentation, which he may have found too 'dramatic'. After all, it was Diodorus' plain and readable language that Photius highly admired (*Bibl.* p. 35a), and his overall lack of literary pretensions (bar a touch of pomposity in the first proem and some other passages) was probably the reason for the Elder Pliny's praise (*NH pr.* 25). Needless to say, however, the parts where Diodorus did not modify his Posidonian material are of no less interest for the purpose of source criticism. For example, he simply took over the anti-Gracchan and anti-Marian biases from Posidonius' narrative, just as Posidonius himself had passed on all these biases from his source, be it Rutilius or Sulla (Chaps. 3-6). More significantly, the existing Diodoran material strongly suggests traces of the organic arrangement of historical narrative employed, as seems likely, in Posidonius' *Histories* - broadly chronological yet flexibly *κατὰ γένος* - as demonstrated by the examination of the narrative structure of the Social War and the anticipatory excursus which introduced the unique thesis that the Social War fused into the Civil Wars and ended simultaneously with them (Chap. 4). Yet the question of the extent to which he succeeded or failed in integrating this Posidonian framework into his own strictly chronological one has yet to find a satisfactory answer. As we have observed, such failures by Diodorus to 'smooth-out' his narrative greatly help in the task of spotting not only Posidonian influences but also points at which he switches his source from Posidonius to another (Chap. 6).

At the same time, I have also pointed out the possibility of 'factual contributions' by Diodorus to various parts of his narrative. Even within the

‘Posidonian narrative’ he may well have added some extra information, especially where Sicilian affairs are concerned. For the post-Posidonian narrative that possibility will considerably increase, especially as he does not seem to have used any known ready-made history (for example that of Timagenes) comparable in scale with Posidonius’ *Histories* or his own *Bibliothèque*. On the other hand, if we suppose that he used works of a monographic nature such as that of Theophanes, this would mean that he had to conflate them and integrate them into a unified narrative, in a manner not greatly different from that of any of his predecessors. At any rate, the origin of many episodes for this period not attested outside Diodorus, including the provincial benefit received from Pompey’s Sicilian promagistracy, or the exchanges between Cicero and Catiline in the Senate (which turn out to be more authentic than Cicero’s own presentation of the same incident), has yet to be explained (Chap. 6). One must note that the traditional view of Diodorus as a ‘compiler’ or ‘copyist’ of other historical works has largely been derived from observations made on his earlier, fuller books, which mostly deal with antiquarian history. To pass such a summary verdict, however, in the absence of the complete material, on Diodorus’ treatment of the period in which he himself had lived, can scarcely be justified.

By its very nature source criticism inevitably involves a great deal of conjecture and speculation, and the present work, where it is concerned with source criticism, is no exception. Every one of the criteria I have employed to single out a Posidonian influence in a passage of Diodorus might sometimes appear dangerously general, and thus too weak on its own to sustain the case, thus risking an *a priori* conclusion of the very kind that has led astray many earlier *Quellenforschungen*. As I have pointed out in this thesis, ideas and literary techniques that have often been thought to characterise Posidonius’ ‘narrative pattern’ almost always have parallels in other authors before and after him, as well as in ‘non-Posidonian’ parts of the *Bibliothèque*. And, in spite of all the effort expended in past scholarship as well as in the present thesis, the unsettling fact remains that there is no single piece of attested evidence for a Posidonian account of the Social War (Chap. 4) or the Second Sicilian Slave War (Chap. 5). However, the combined strength of those criteria will, in my view, uphold a ‘Posidonian hypothesis’ for those accounts with reasonable certainty.



Needless to say, the true answers to many of the questions raised in this thesis lie in tomorrow's possible discovery of a complete papyrus manuscript of Diodorus or Posidonius, or both. Yet I am confident that such a discovery will not wreck the whole framework within which my arguments are conducted, nor will it make the results obtained in this research 'look appropriately foolish.'<sup>1</sup>

A final question that attracts my curiosity is this. Did Diodorus ever make comments on Posidonius? If he did, what did he have to say about the philosopher? Although Diodorus is rather sparing of polemics against other historians, there are a few examples in his earlier, more complete books, on occasions where he certainly must have felt that his own autopsy in Egypt and Sicily had placed him in a position to praise or criticise others (1.37-41; 1.69.7; 3.11; 5.1; 5.6.1; 13.90.5-7; 21.17). Particularly noteworthy are Diodorus' remarks on Timaeus, which show that our historian, as a fellow Sicilian, felt confident enough to pass judgement on his predecessor (5.1.3; 5.6.1; 13.90.5-7; 21.17.1-3). Yet, as it turns out, Diodorus' assessment is more lenient and was probably also fairer than the notorious Polybian criticism of Timaeus. On the philosophical side, the fact that Diodorus had a great deal in common with Posidonius in his didactic approach to history based on a Stoic understanding of the world, makes it rather unlikely that he saw Posidonius in a very critical light. On the factual side, however, a large part of the period Posidonius covered in his *Histories* overlaps with the generation of Diodorus' near-contemporaries and his own. Thus Diodorus would also have been able to tell a lot about the same period from his own knowledge, which may not always have agreed with what had been said by Posidonius. And what about the presentation? How did our historian view, for example, Posidonius' sensationalised account of the historically enigmatic Athenion episode, or his glaringly partisan description of the Gracchi? Would he not rather have said, as he earlier did, something like 'we must free these (events) from the additional tragedy customary among historians (19.8.4: ἀφ' ὧν ἡμῖν περιαιρετέον ἐστὶ τὴν ἐπίθετον καὶ συνήθη τοῖς συγγραφεῦσι τραγωδίαν)'? As with other cases, we have again to wait for a chance discovery of a papyrus scroll of Diodorus for the answer.

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<sup>1</sup> Hornblower (1995), p. 59 (speaking of Polybius' knowledge of Thucydides).

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